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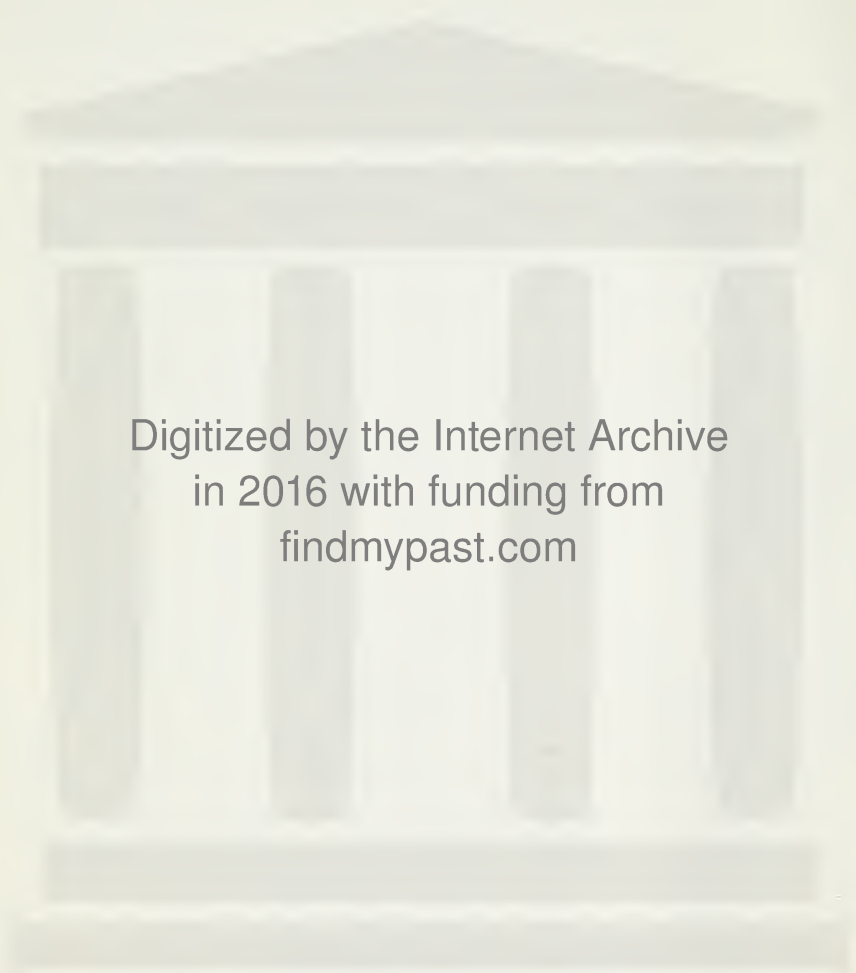


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SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL REVIEW

South Dakota Historical Review

volumes 1-2

1935-1937

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The South Dakota Historical Review will be published quarterly in October, January, April, and July by the South Dakota Historical Society, Pierre. Correspondence concerning contributions and books for review may be sent to the editor.

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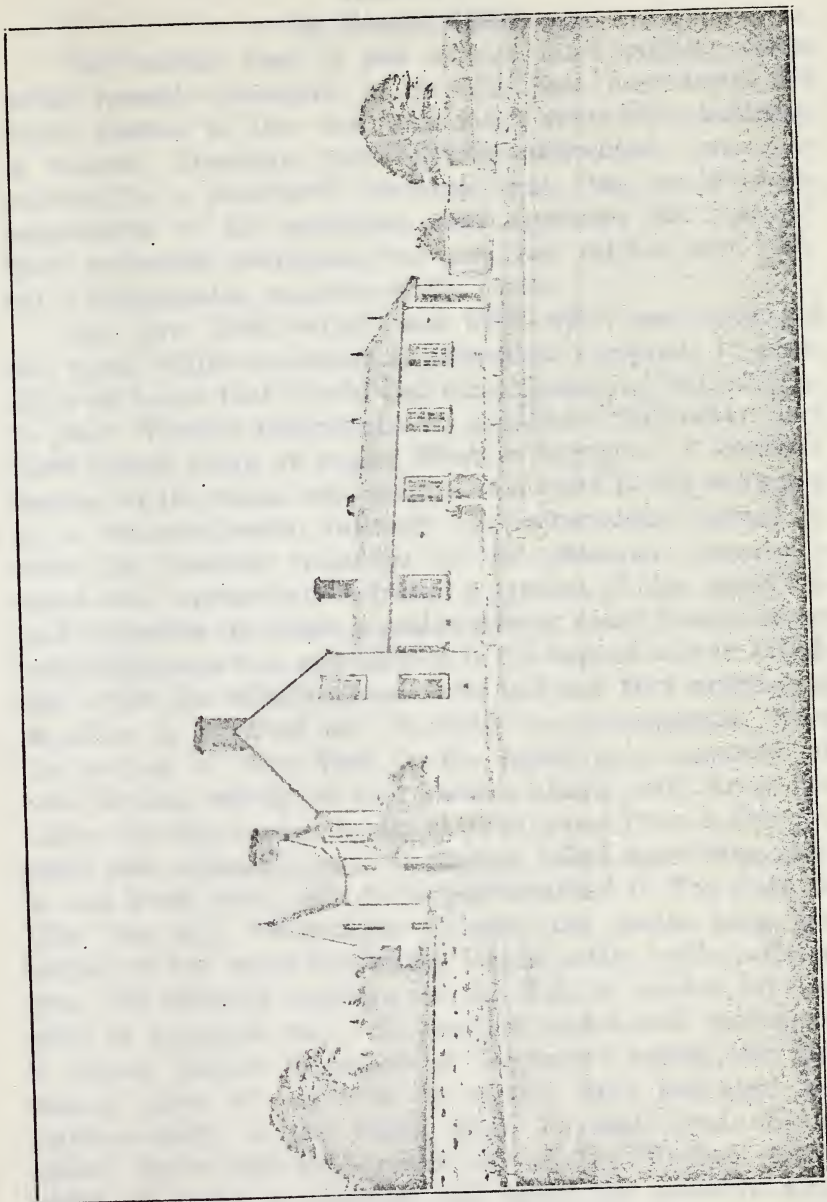
FOREWORD

The *South Dakota Historical Review* has been established to increase the Society's usefulness to the State. Prior to this time, publishing efforts have been confined to the series known as the *South Dakota Historical Collections*. A volume of this series is issued every two years; the edition is limited by law to seven hundred copies. It is planned to continue publication of the *Collections* and in addition to send a messenger in the form of the *Review* eight times during the two year period to the members and others who may be interested.

The *Review* will contain contributed papers, reviews of books pertinent to South Dakota, notes on the activities of the Society and its auxiliaries, documents and reprints.

OUR CONTRIBUTOR

George Philip, a nephew of James Philip, was born at Ft. Augustus, Scotland, July 16, 1880. His parents, Robert and Catherine Philip, died before he was eight years old. After completing the public school course in his homeland, he migrated to the United States where many of his relatives lived. For a few years he worked as lumberjack, rancher and farmer but gave up these tasks for the study of law. In 1906 he graduated from the Law School of the University of Michigan, and has since been in active practice. He served as Assistant United States District Attorney for South Dakota from 1914 to 1922; since 1933 he has been United States District Attorney.



The Birthplace of James Philip

JAMES (SCOTTY) PHILIP
1858-1911

By George Philip

The leading man in one of our most popular comic strips recently remarked to his Min that monuments are never erected to the men who mind their own business. A famous American poet--historian-philosopher once remarked, in a pessimistic moment, that "the world erects monuments to its scoundrels and canonizes its knaves." Each somewhat overstated the case, but neither was without a considerable measure of the truth.

Our own West, which was filled with many splendid and worth while characters is altogether too prone to place halos on heads that should not wear them, and figuratively, to place Western decorations on shoulders that never bore their proper share of proper Western burdens. A contract butcher of the bison, supplying buffalo meat to the workmen on a transcontinental railroad, who afterwards learned to wear the tinselled trappings of the showman, became a world-wide representative, indeed a symbol, of that great human migration by which a mid-continent area of gargantuan proportions was won and made safe for normal human activities, while the chief engineer who laid out that railroad is nameless to most of us. A child was transplanted from the gutters of New York to the broad open expanses of New Mexico, leaving an evil, useless, bloody trail across the history of that region, to die at twenty-one from a sheriff's pistol shot after his own six-shooter killed more men than he had lived years, only to be immortalized in The Saga of Billy the Kid, while John Chisum, the cattle king and builder of the great Southwest, whose cattle herds suffered from the thieving banditry of the Kid, is headed for the quiet of forgotten men. A romantic grave and monument in Mount Moriah Cemetery at Deadwood marks the last resting place of one who in earlier days improved his marksmanship at the times when he had tired of the saloon, dance hall and brothel life of the Western towns where he acted as marshal, and killed the cowboys who, while he loafed, were working and sweating in the dust of the trail herd, and who, in their efforts at relaxation at the

end of the long trail, were no match on the draw with the practiced lightning quickness of Wild Bill, and consequently were laid away on Boot Hill in Abilene and Hays and other border towns, and the "peace officer" went looking for another to build up his tragic thirty-seven, while George V. Ayres, who was in the Hills before Wild Bill and is still a prosperous merchant there, community builder and citizen extraordinary of Deadwood, is taken for granted. Illustrations of misplaced recognition of those whose graves afford a mecca each year for thousands of tourists could be multiplied, but to no especial purpose. They were not the builders of the West, nor deserving of history's plaudits. The real builders of the West were the courageous, determined men and women, whose purpose to reduce the wilderness to the garden was stubbornly pursued.

Men of mark in their own day and community, whose lives and efforts are directed to human progress, are all too likely to meet one of two fates,—the first and most likely is to be forgotten after the first snows have melted on their graves, and the second is to be warped by romance and legend out of all likeness to the real man who walked and talked among his fellows when life's urge was strong in him. When the State Historian suggested to the writer that it would be well to do some small thing to save Scotty Philip from either fate, or at least from the latter, the task was accepted cheerfully, even gratefully, but apprehensively. To have known him most intimately, to have loved and admired him in his lifetime, and to cherish the recollection of him since he departed, must be admitted as handicaps to impartial history at the hands of one whose pen is none too facile. Yet, knowing that no man was more willing to state and face the facts as they were, none more earnest in the worship of the god of things as they are, than Scotty Philip, a sincere effort is made to record in simple form the story of a plain but splendid man among men. On more than one occasion the writer has had to listen to romantic tales of gun-plays and such-like false trash, with Scotty Philip as the central figure, and which never happened. There will be none of that here.

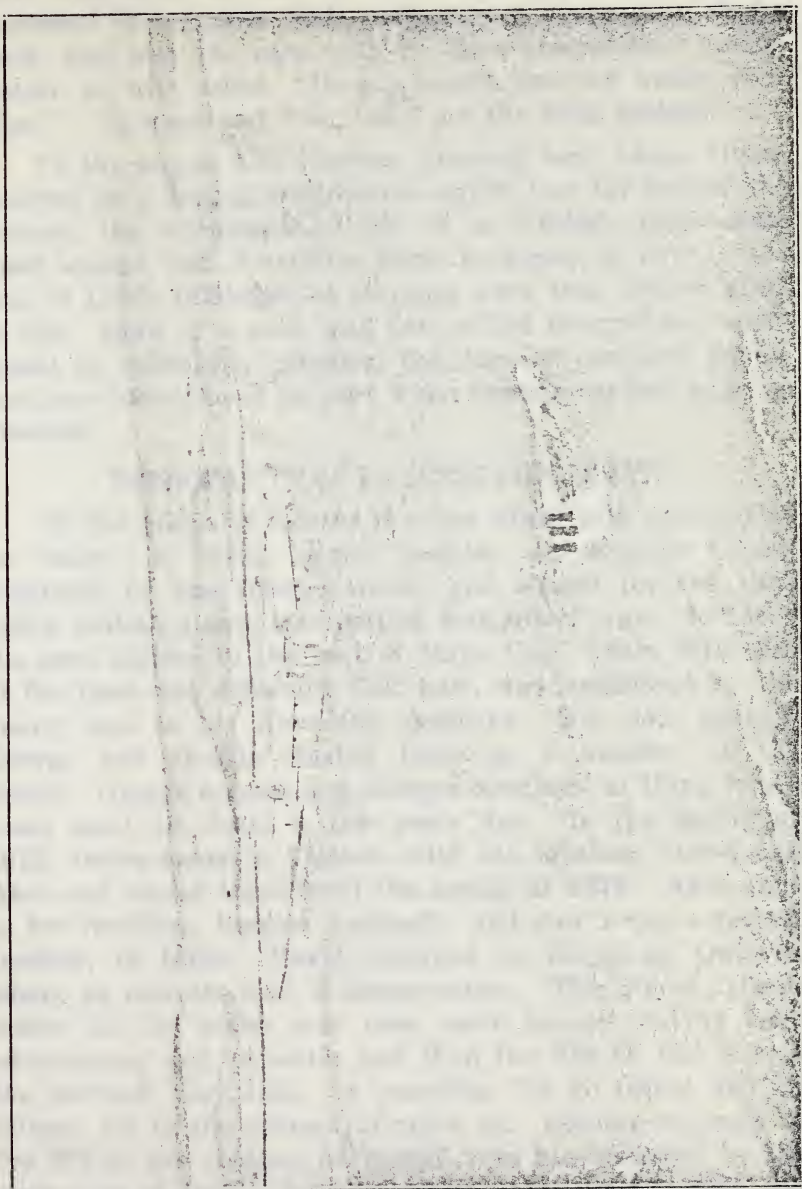
BOYHOOD DAYS

On the farm of Auchness, near the little inland village of Dallas, in Morayshire, in the Highlands of Scotland, the boy, James Philip, was born on April 30th, 1858. His father, George Philip, was a Scottish farmer, who lived, reared a large family, and died within the narrow limits of the valley of the Lossie where he was born. All that was long before the little hamlet of Lossiemouth, only a few miles away, became famous as the birthplace of James Ramsay MacDonald three times the British Prime Minister. That humble farmer could scarcely have foretold that of his large family, four sons and two daughters older than James and two daughters younger, all but the second daughter, would at one time or another yield to the urgent call of the United States of America.

It was in the little school, in the little village of Dallas, where the rudiments of learning were massaged into young Scots with a leather tawse or healthy stick, according to the preference of the teacher, that Jimmie Philip—(and to his own, Jimmie he was then and always continued)—received a few fundamentals of book learning. After about four years in that school, where, to use his own language, he was always “a damn poor scholar”, he decided that he had education enough. Apparently he had, but extensive reading later on greatly augmented it and rounded him out into a well informed man.

Being of large and powerful stature, even as a boy, his energies were not entirely drained by the work on the home farm, and he devoted no inconsiderable portion of his spare time to hunting the game with which the surrounding hills abounded, with cool indifference to the right or wrong of the game laws. Neither was the boy a stranger to the pools and riffles of the trout and salmon infested Lossie.

The boy, of course, is the father to the man, and the keen observer of later years was likewise such as a boy. The story is told of his participation in local athletic games on one occasion. When they came to what would now be called a stunt, a blindfolded race, he entered. When the



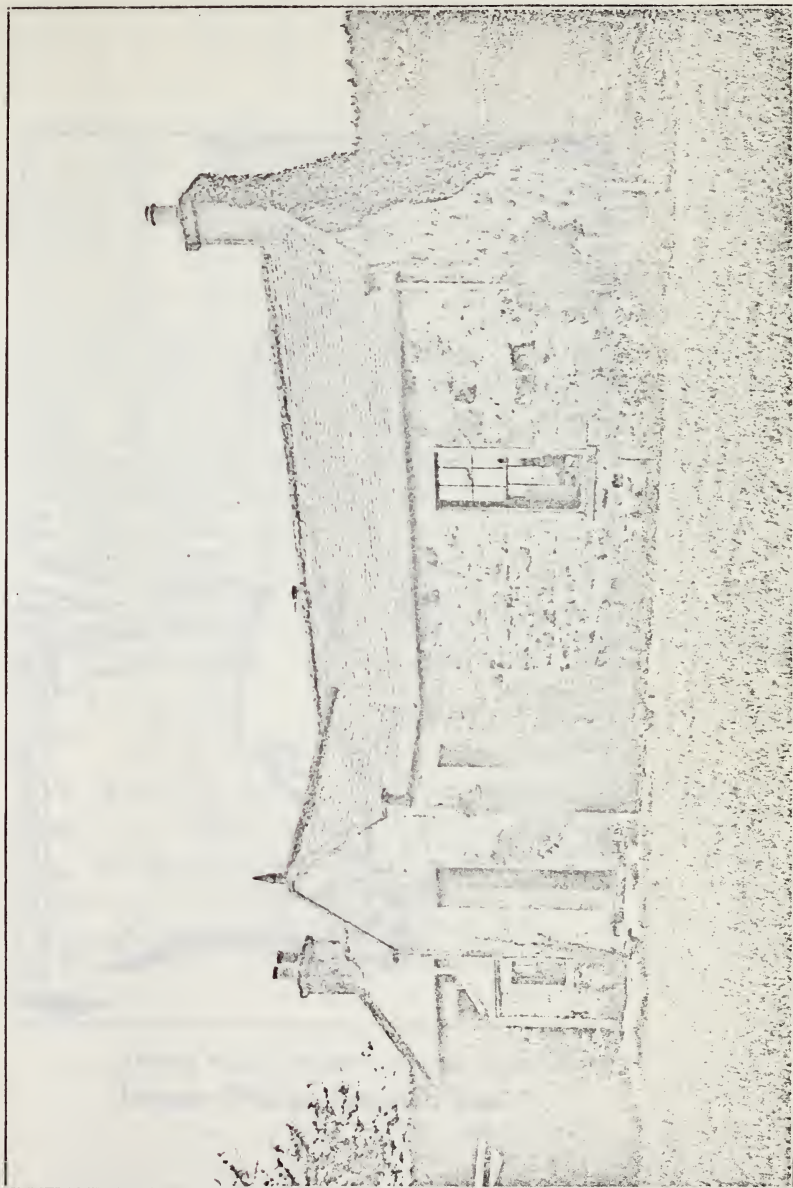
The Home Farm in Scotland

start was called he ran off across the green with all the assurance of a runner with unobstructed vision on a cinder track, and won the race with no close competitor. Immediately he was asked, "Jimmie, could you see under your blind?" He answered, "No, but I got the wind spotted."

To the strong and vigorous growing boy, whose vision, fostered by a daring, adventurous spirit, was far beyond the horizon, the circumscribed life of a Scottish farm made small appeal, and America's West beckoned to him as the land of Life's fulfilment in the rosy glow that sixteen casts on life. Born of a race that has settled everywhere, unobsessed by inferiority complex, the urge of romantic adventure may have played its part when Jimmie decided to go to America.

INTRODUCTION TO WESTERN WAYS

On the plains of Kansas the new world held opportunity for many. A newly formed Scottish and English Colony organized by one George Grant, and named for the then ruling British queen, was getting well under way. Victoria, the next station to the east of Hays City, where Wild Bill at the time was enforcing Colt Law, was considered by the young man as his American objective. His older brother George had already located there as a member of the colony. George became a prominent merchant at Hays, living there until his death a few years ago. In the spring of 1874, James came to Victoria with his brothers David and Alex and stayed there until the spring of 1875. Alex went in for ranching, became successful and now lives, a retired rancher, in Hays. David returned to Hamilton, Ontario, where he recently died, a nonagenarian. The life of a farm colony on the plains was even more prosaic to the lad's adventurous and romantic soul than the life he had left in the Scottish Highlands. A yearning "to go places and do things" led to the decision to move on. Bidding farewell to the life of the farmer, he headed into his unknown in the early part of 1875. After wandering through Colorado and Wyoming, he landed in that early day metropolis of the West, Cheyenne, Wyoming. There the open spaces were



Where Jimmie Battled the 3 R's



(Photo by D. Johnston, Forres, Morayshire)

Jimmie Philip—Scottish Lad



THE HISTORY OF THE

truly open,—men were men, judged only on capacity to do and to be. There he met men whose friendship lasted all through life, Hi Kelly, Ike Humphrey and others cast in the same mould. The life in the West with its new ways, its harshness in weeding out the unfit and seeing that only the fit survived, was a hard school for the boy from Scotland. Fits of homesickness mingled with the determination to carry on and become one with the border men who did not know him. The husky men of the plains and of the mountains who considered a family tree as a cottonwood struck by lightning,—who asked no questions about the antecedents of any man among them,—to whom a name was only a brand to distinguish the bearer,—who often did not know (and cared less) the real names of their companions,—and preferred a fitting nickname to the sometimes, and often, inappropriate baptismal efforts of parents, detected the burr on Jimmie's tongue and recognized the land from which it came. To them he was, and continued to be, Scotty. Thus Scotty he became and Scotty he remained from the Dominion line to below the Rio Grande. Jimmie had faded, James was out, and Scotty came into complete being.

FRONTIER STRUGGLES

Mrs. Jane Philip of Hays, Kansas, the widow of his deceased brother George, has been able to resurrect a few old and faded letters from the files of long ago which cast some light on the early life of this man, whose reticence in later years made it hard to get the story. As a correspondent Scotty all through life was practically a total loss, and many times months would elapse and no word would come to his relatives from the roving boy in the wilds. His brother, George, was determined to have some track of him, and when no answers came he would write to postmasters in various places. Then from somewhere would come the stereotypic note from Scotty, "I'm all right, don't worry about me." However, on occasion he would write something of his doings and a few letters were brought to light as told above.

A few months after leaving his relatives at Victoria, came a letter on the eve of his great adventure,—the first trip into the forbidden territory of the Black Hills. This was written a few months after the Gordon party was taken out of the Black Hills by the troops. It plainly shows the emotional struggle in the mind of the boy between the lure of romance and the misery of homesickness in this letter, which bears the stains of his tears.

Cheyenne, Wyo.

Aug. 27, 1875.

My dear Brother:

On the eve of starting out. Once more I did not get the box you sent, but if it comes within a week there is a man that will bring it.

I am taking with me 250 lbs of flour, 25 bacon, 6 of powder, 20 of sugar, salt, etc. 7 dollars worth of coffee and tea, 18 for hauling it out there, 35 for a pony, 5 for ammunition. Me and another fellow are paying 16 dollars for a whip-saw for sawing boards, 4 for stricknine, an overcoat, and that is all my means. I don't know whether I am right or not. However if this is my last letter, good bye all.

You need not write any more till you hear from me. Tell them at home that I am well.

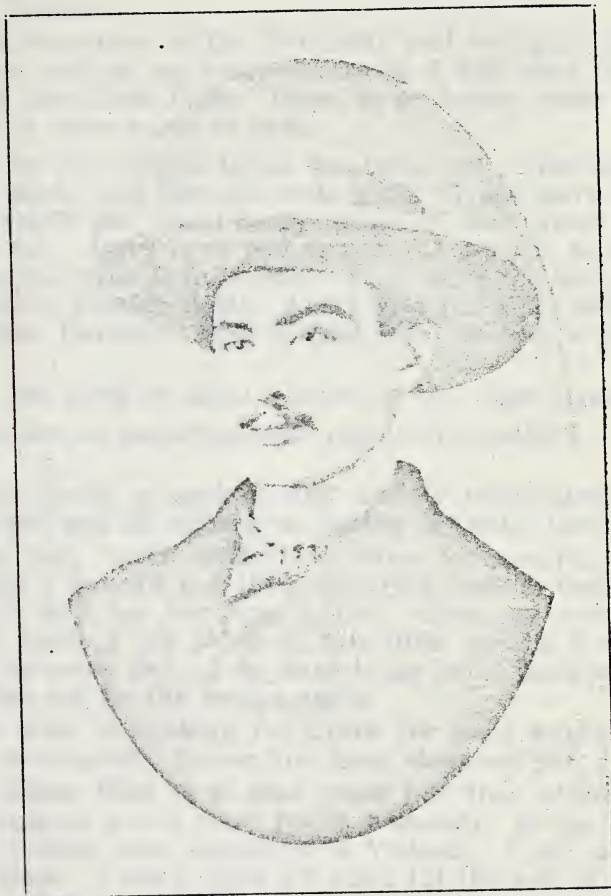
With kind love to all I remain,

Your loving brother

Jamie.

He reached the Black Hills only to find himself, as so many other gold seeking adventurers did in those days, evicted from the "Last Stand of the Dacotahs" by the American soldiers.

Having learned something of the three-cornered game of hide-and-seek then being played between gold-seeking intruders, hostile Sioux Indians defending the last vestige of their natural heritage, and American troops under unavailing orders to maintain the sanctity of the Indian rights to the Black Hills, the stubborn hopes of fortune would not down.



(Photo taken in the Black Hills, 1876)

"Scotty" Philip—Prospector

BLACK HILLS—OLD TIME LETTERS

A letter written from Cheyenne, Wyoming, on October 8th, 1875, forecasts another trip.

Cheyenne, Oct. 8

My dear Brother:

I got your note of the 3rd today and was glad Mrs. Philip was sending me some clothes as I will need them if I go to the Black Hills. There is no treaty made yet but there is some going to now.

I see by your letters Grant has been very unfortunate with his stock, and Mrs. Shaw is gone. I am sorry for it as I thought she would be the cause of Alex Grant being put away. Hays is as bad as ever. I see you have a good crop, and poor John is dead. I am sorry for him and he got such a horrible death. And Lizzie [an older sister] is now Mrs. Garrow. Well I think she has got a good husband.

Are you going to write a letter to the Elgin papers?
[Here follows an undecipherable part of the letter.]

Custer Creek of park is first and 17 miles north is Spring Creek and 20 miles from Spring is Castle Creek.

I am very much obliged to Jane for sending my clothes tho I haven't got them yet [the fact is that he never did] and for her long letter. Upon my word I expect to make a big thing in the Hills, and if I do I will pay her some day. I do want to go but I don't want to be taken out by the troops again.

I see Alex is working for Grant for good wages. I wouldn't be surprised to see him head shepherd yet.

The Black Hills is a good place but then although the Government would treat for it I wouldn't advise you to go for I think your fortune is in Victoria. I will write before I start. I don't think I'll start till the last of the month. I have nothing more to say. I remain your loving brother.

James Philip

P. S. You said you sent me a letter from Bob in one of yours but I never saw it. I would like you to send me all the home letters. I have not written Bob since a long time before I left Victoria. I return you my father's letter.

This letter shows a hard earned acquaintance with the hills geography, when miles were more accurately and more arduously measured by tired footfalls on unknown mountains and virgin forests with all one's worldly wealth in a pack strap, than they are by the pleasure-seeker who today covers the same territory on the springy cushions of a high powered car on roads bordering on perfection. Who now from his first trip over that ground could tell that Spring Creek is seventeen miles north of Custer [now French] Creek, and that Castle Creek is twenty miles north of Spring Creek? And what long, hard miles they must have been.

The second venture ended as did the first. After returning to Cheyenne from the Black Hills the second time it seemed the part of wisdom to wait for the day when the white men would take the Hills. A letter which seems to have been written about this time to his father in Scotland, but of which both the beginning and the end have been lost, tells its own tale.

"The opinion of all the men who were in the Hills when I was there that this will come up to California for riches. We could find gold in any creek by digging, but maybe not in paying quantities as far as we could see in the time the Government would let us stay. As soon as the treaty is signed there will be a grand rush. There are five or six hundred miners and others ready to start at a minute's notice, and I shall be with them.

I do not like the British Government and I shall always be an American. The people are generous to a fault, respect all men for their worth and not for birth.

My dear and kind father you must not for a moment think that your son will ever forget you and your great kindness. I now consider myself a man, and should it ever please God that we may meet again you shall see your son the same Jamie, and who ever looks back with a heart full of kind thoughts of you and the many kind ones back in Scotland.

[A damaged part makes the letter illegible here] "are about 250 miles from the placer N. E. There was about 1500 people in the Hills when I was there. We have laid out a city on one of the creeks and named it Custer, after the General who had charge of the expedition. [Here is

another illegible part of the letter] “* * * discovered gold first and it is the opinion of all that it will be the first and largest city in the Hills. I have a lot in the City and I shall hang on to it, and I think I have some good mining ground. I will hope for the best * * *.”

It is to be regretted that part of this letter is lost. Its full contents would doubtless bring joy to the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Custer. It would be interesting to know what building in Custer is located on the lot that Scotty expected to hold. How clearly it illustrates that “the best laid plans o’ mice and men gang aft agley.” How different are the accomplishments of the man from the hopes of the boy!

In July of 1876, when the Black Hills were over-run with gold-seeking whites, he had made good his promise to be with them, and a letter to his brother George tells a small part of the story.

Black Hills, July 19, 1876

My dear brother:

Arrived here on the 16th, looked around, took a claim, and went to work today, I and another young fellow working together. We commenced a hole today 10 by 6 feet. I intend writing a little every day until I get a chance to send it.

20th

Digging still but the ground is very hard so we cannot come much speed.

21st

Still very unsatisfactory. We have dug one hole 11 feet deep, and come on wet so we gave it up without a cent’s worth. It will be a pity if this is a failure for gold for this is a nice looking place. Wild gooseberries and strawberries growing thick, plenty grass and hundreds of miles covered with woods.

We have begun to dig a drain 9 feet deep and are going to dig till we come to something or give it up, and if nothing here look out for a call for a little money. It will look funny to you as it does to others, but I have not 50 cents although it would save my life.

22nd

Still draining and no signs of pay.

23rd

Still draining and no signs of pay dirt.

24th

Still nothing. The young fellow who works with me is going back disheartened, but I mean to stay yet. I have 100 lb of flour, and mean to work until that is done.

Good bye, I remain your affectionate brother.

James Philip

P. S. I have no envelopes but the fellow who worked with me is going to take it out.

BACK TO THE PRAIRIE

With vanishing lure of gold came the desire for new scenes. The tramps to and from the Black Hills netted only an experience which went to fill up the storehouse of recollection, but furnished no economic stability.

The winter of 1876-77 spent in the Black Hills in search of gold, no doubt rubbed off some of the romance of life, and brought its realities into clear relief. Miners, prospectors, and others who went to make up the border life of the Hills gave an insight to that almost unfathomable something we call "folks", and the young man, not yet in his twenties, looked and saw. He saw into the motives and reactions of men, and gathered to himself a judgment of his fellows that stood him in good stead in after years.

Managing somehow or other to get through that winter, with strength and vigor but without cash, he returned to Wyoming in the spring of 1877. At Fort Laramie he got employment as a government teamster. Working under, or in connection with, the regulations that control the military he considered them an infringement of his natural freedom of action, and after the accumulation of a little stake, the urge to move was indulged and away he went. His next objective was Fort Robinson, Nebraska, or Camp Robinson as it was then called. He worked on the range as a cowboy with the first cow outfit in the Running Water country. It was here that a lasting friendship was formed between him and James Dahlman, later United States Marshal of Nebraska, and the "cowboy mayor" of Omaha.

The writer can well remember a conversation in the office of Young, Philip and McPherson in Fort Pierre. Warren Young and Matthew Brown were discussing with Scotty Philip a recent episode of Jim Dahlman. The newspapers had reported that the redoubtable Jim had given himself a vacation from the arduous duties of Mayor of Omaha. He was on a real "bender" and the reports were that he had ridden a pony up and down the streets of Omaha. The Mayor had given way to the cowboy on parade as he roped pedestrians along the streets of the city over whose official destinies he had been elected to preside. Young and Brown were severely critical of the conduct of Omaha's mayor. Scotty was being generous to the man he liked, and sought hard to excuse where he could scarcely justify. The argument came to a sudden end when Scotty Philip flashed defiance and thumped his fist on the arm of his chair as he remarked in tones that did not permit dispute, "By God, Jim Dahlman is my friend." The fellow cowboys of the Running Water were still sticking together.

In later life the days around Camp Robinson held a charm for the man who could look back on them through the mellowing haze of time. It was there he became well acquainted with the Sioux and Cheyenne Indians, and he always remained to the end a staunch and stern champion of their rights. The writer cannot forget the earnestness with which Scotty told how, on one occasion during the Indian troubles of that day and place, an even hundred Cheyenne braves rode into Fort Robinson and surrendered. He said, "I doubt if a hundred men could be found in the West who would be the superior of that band of one hundred. They were kept around the Fort for six months. At the end of that time they were broken in spirit and broken in health. They never could be the same again. That's what has happened to the Indian." Often he remarked, "You can't make anything out of a buffalo but a buffalo. The same is true of the Indian. Each is splendidly fitted for survival in his own natural way." He was one man, well qualified to appraise, who always believed that the Govern-

ment policy of tutelage and dependence was against the best interests of the Indian.

The winter of 1878 furnished new experiences. Entering into the quartermaster service he was employed by the military at Fort Robinson as a guide, scout and dispatch carrier, and he rendered effective assistance to the military forces in dealing with the very troublesome Indian difficulties at that time.

His correspondence, always scanty, furnishes a little intimate information on the life of that day on the plains. A letter to his brother George is an index.

Camp Robinson, Nov. 4, '77

My Dear Brother:

I received your welcome letter last night and was glad to see you were all well. I wrote a long letter 2 months ago, but don't think you got it. It is snowing heavy just now.

You have likely heard the Indians have all left Red Cloud. They have gone down to the Missouri.

My partner has gone with a load of freight. We get 6 cts a lb. He will be gone a month. So Ellis County [Kansas] has turned out a good farming country. But I think it is a very uncertain business. There is nothing like live stock. I have seen no better place than Victoria for stock if you had shelter. [Here is an illegible part of the letter.]

I see there are lots of changes in Dallas [Scotland] but you said nothing of our own folks. I hope they are all well. When you write again tell me all about them, everyone of them. I have written home a good many times.

What are horses and ponies worth? When I started haying a fine mare broke her leg and had to be shot. Put in 20 tons to the * * * Company at 15 dollars a ton. I bought 2 large mules and cut about 100 ton more, and sold about 20 tons. Then the Indians commenced burning it, so all I have is forty tons stacked within a few yards of the house. I bought a brood sow with pigs a few days ago.

I don't think the Indian war is over yet. The Sioux were very dissatisfied at moving, and I think the Gov. officers are trying to make them break out again. I can

talk a deal of the Sioux language. I think if they don't break out in the winter they will in the spring.

How is Davie? I must write him soon.

The Black Hills is getting better, rich men putting in quartz mills, and I think it will make a good country yet.

Enclosed you will find a sample of the Black Hills gold. It isn't big enough for a pin but is the best I could do.

Your loving brother,
James Philip

Another letter followed shortly to his brother George.

Camp Robinson, Nebr.
Nov. 30, 1877

Dear Brother:

I received your very welcome letter a few days ago and was glad to hear you were all well about Victoria. We have fearful rough weather here.

Just now you ask where is my ranch. It is eight miles north of the Red Cloud Agency and Black Hills road.

My partner has gone to the Missouri about 350 miles trip. He has been gone a month and I haven't heard anything of him. His name is George Clark.

There is a great number of stage robbers in this country, but they are getting fewer, some being killed or captured every day.

Which part of South America has Davidson, Mr. Grant's old manager gone to? What is he doing and what kind of a country is it? And tell me if you hear anything of Africa. I would like to go anywhere south. At any rate I won't stay another winter in this northern country. There was a barrel of water froze solid at the door last night. But still it is a real good country too, plenty of game.

My sow has eight nice pigs. I feed her on meat. Can't afford grain 5 and 6 cents a lb.

I don't understand how you get so few letters from me. I want you to send me every little scrap of a letter to me. I know you get some.

You ask me to give you a sketch of my travels. Well, you know I am not much of a composer. Besides there is nothing in it very romantic or adventurous. I

never killed any animal but what would run from a man, only a bear, and a bear will try to get out of your way until he is wounded.

Bob never wrote. Are Maggie and Tina still living in the village?

Now send me some papers and the first long letter I get from you I will send you one that will keep you reading a week.

Your last letter—there was no news in it. Tell Mrs. Philip to write me.

I remain your loving brother,

James Philip

The threat to leave the Northwest for a warmer climate seems to have been forgotten when the hardship of that rigid winter gave way to spring, and his lot still was allowed to stand with the prairie land of his adoption in which he was afterwards destined to play so large a part. We find him writing to his brother George the succeeding summer.

Camp Robinson, May 13, '78

My dear Brother;

I received your note yesterday and was surprised you never get my letters. I think things will be pretty lively this summer if the Indians break out, as they are pretty certain to do. I have no news, but hoping this will find you all in good health as this leaves me enjoying that blessing.

Your loving brother,
James Philip

Another letter, the beginning of which is missing, but which must have been written at about that time says,

"There is a great many captured from the Indians and sold at Government sales at from 3 to 10 dolls each.

I see by your letter you have a son and Jessie a daughter. Well, it shows you are mindful of your Bible, at least the part that says multiply and replenish the earth.

I am writing Garrow and my father by this mail.

There was a great War Dance here, the best I ever saw. General Crook and all the officers were there.

Mrs. Philip said Annie Hardie is coming out to see you. Could you not persuade father and sister to come too. It would be a great deal better to be in Victoria than in Dallas.

I will send you some money—110 dollars. If you get a chance I wish you would buy some heifers with it.

I see Philip and Co are driving a great trade. I will send the half sovereign I got from Garrow to hang at your chain.

You spoke of a $\frac{1}{4}$ section of land you would file for me. Do it if you can for I intend to home. This is what I call Victoria.

Love to you all,
James Philip

In the early summer of 1878 it was reported to his relatives that he had been killed and this was fortified by newspaper accounts of his death in newspapers sent to his brother in Victoria by some unknown friend who also must have thought him the victim of the shooting. A letter to the sheriff at Deadwood brought the information that the man who was killed was "a fair haired, blue-eyed man" and the name of the victim was C. Phillips. The "fair haired, blue-eyed man" could not be confused with the swarthy complexioned, black haired, brown eyed Scotty Philip, even if the similarity of names should lend color to the fear they felt. Scotty, who knew C. Phillips, and had full acquaintance with the details of his death, had no reason to know the agony of spirit of his family until later. On his return to Camp Robinson from a freighting trip to Fort Pierre, then over the old Fort Pierre to Deadwood freight trail and back to Camp Robinson he wrote the letter to George which set at rest any lingering fears that might still remain about his violent demise.

Camp Robinson
June 13, 1878

Dear Brother:

I have just got home from a four weeks trip to the Missouri River and the Black Hills. Never found your letter of May 15th. I don't know how you don't get my letters as I answered everyone.

And you thought I was dead. It is all foolishness to think of that, not but what I can be killed, but I think I can take care of myself as well as anyone. And it is one thing sure, I never will be killed for a prostitute as C. P. was.

And old Grant is dead, poor fellow. He wasn't a bad man.

I am glad you are getting on so well, but sorry you lost money in the bank. Well, if you were like me you wouldn't lose nothing. We have very wet weather, raining most every day and [the rest of the letter is missing.]

In the next letter he mentions Neil McMillan, the husband of his sister Jessie, and the size of the family indicates that the letter was probably written along in 1879. Only a small part of it is in existence.

"Neil does mean business, having four girls. I must have been longer from home than I thought.

I got my picture taken in the Hills. It is a horrible looking thing, but it is all I could do.

You say you could throw me but I don't know. It takes a good man to do that tho' I do say it myself. I weight 194 lbs so you see you better not threaten me too much.

No. Geordie, you cannot expect much news for there is nothing going on that would interest you, so I will conclude with love to you all.

Your loving brother,
James Philip

It is to be regretted that more of his letters of that day did not come into the keeping of his brother's wife, whom Scotty always rightfully regarded as one of the most wonderful of women. Other letters would cast further light on the doings of those days had they been preserved, but they were not. As the years went on personal visits became more frequent and letters fewer and fewer. Neither did there seem to be the incentive to preserve as the Wild was gradually being worn off the West.

MARRIAGE

In the early annals of the West, along the Oregon Trail, in Nebraska, Colorado and Wyoming, in the great spaces that

were then the Indian Country, no name was more entitled to prominence than that of the intrepid French voyageur Joseph Larribee (afterwards abbreviated to Larvie). A man who from all reports would have been outstanding in any place or any society, he chose to make his home among the Indians. He married a Cheyenne Indian woman in what is now Colorado, and in course of time came with his family to the vicinity of Camp Robinson. He reared a large family, and his descendants in South Dakota are many. Four of his daughters married quite outstanding men. The oldest daughter became the wife of the aboriginal Napoleon, that natural strategist, that dashing youthful war-chief of the Oglalas, Crazy Horse, who was treacherously bayoneted by a soldier after his surrender. Another married Mike Dunn, afterwards a prominent cattleman and banker. Another became the wife of J. E. Utterback, who still is one of South Dakota's leading ranchers, he and his wife living on the Anvil Ranch on White River, southeast of Belvidere. Sarah Larribee married Scotty Philip.

It was at Camp Robinson that he first met Sarah. Sally, he always called her, and so her name appears in the marriage certificate. They were married in 1879 by Rev. J. Robinson, a missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the witnesses being Joseph Eldridge and George Stover. Richard Boesl, known in the borderland as "Zither Dick", furnished the music for the dance at the wedding. The Rev. Robinson, the officiating minister, was a very considerable figure among the Indians to whom he was a missionary, and because of his heavy black beard, he bore the Indian name of Black Bear.

Just before he was married Scotty severed his connections with the Army, in which, according to Mr. Utterback, he served with absolute fearlessness in the dangerous work of scout and dispatch carrier.

CRAZY HORSE

In view of Scotty's acquaintance with him it might not be amiss to mention one of the disputed western characters, the Indian Chief Crazy Horse. Scotty's description of him

gave the picture of a splendidly built, good looking Indian, of somewhat lighter complexion than the average full blood Indian. He was an unusually bright fellow, who keenly felt his rights and the rights of his people, who refused to be a white man, or under white man's dominance, and chose to remain as his God had created him, a freeman of the prairies, an Oglala Sioux. On one point there seems to be no dispute,—in a fair fight on a fair field, in every contest where Crazy Horse lead his Oglalas in combat with the soldiers the generalship of the Indian was superior and victory came to him with such disastrous regularity that his name became anathema to the troops. Although credit has been variously distributed among the older chiefs and medicine men for the complete annihilation of Custer's command at the Battle of the Little Big Horn, those who claim to be "in the know" say that the misleading smoke of the camp fires, and the disposition of the bands of Indian braves in the draws and rough country to surround Custer and his men when they charged with intent to ford the Little Big Horn and were surrounded, was the battle plan of Crazy Horse. The deadly skill of it all needs no comment here.

Afterwards realizing that the oncoming waves of the white men, who were filling his country, meant one of two things, annihilation for his people or conformity to a new mode of life, Crazy Horse decided that his duty to his people compelled the latter course. He surrendered with his band to the Army authorities, and agreed to live in peace and adopt, as best he could, the ways of the white man. In violation of the promise that he be allowed to go his way he was conducted to the guard-house at Camp Robinson. Not until he reached the door did he realize the plan to imprison him. When he stopped to protest, one of the soldiers accompanying him, pierced him through with his bayonet, fatally wounding him. He lived only a few hours. Thus Crazy Horse lived and fought and died. Mr. Utterback was present when he was stabbed. He knew the man, he knows the story. It does not dovetail with the high-sounding phrases of courts and statesmen about the duty of a paternalistic government to its wards.

BULLWHACKING

After his marriage, Victoria no longer seemed home to Scotty Philip. He had a home of his own, watched over by as faithful and self-sacrificing a helpmate as ever dedicated her life to a husband. The writer of these lines knows better than almost anyone what a splendid woman she was, for to him she was more of a mother than anyone else was ever permitted to be, and even yet, God bless her, on occasion she feels free to exercise a mother's prerogative and upbraid him for his shortcomings. Always more than willing to do her part for him, never in his way, she was a help to Scotty.

With skimpy beginnings, such cattle and horses as he was able to buy with his savings, augmented by gifts from his father-in-law, Joe Larribee, the young folks started out to make their fortune on the small ranch north of the Agency on White Clay Creek. His new interests in life and the activity of freighting from Nebraska points to the Black Hills and from Fort Pierre to Deadwood, wherever and whichever direction loads could be obtained, in other words, the serious job of getting along in a hard world, caused his letter writing to relatives elsewhere to dwindle to the vanishing point. He was now worse than a poor correspondent, he was no correspondent at all. Even his brother George could not evoke a reply.

Not knowing what had become of his frontiersman brother, George, or Geordie as he was known to the family, decided in 1881, to find out for himself. He came to the Pine Ridge Agency and made extensive inquiries for James Philip with no success. Finally some one, probably a specialist in brogues, said, "Maybe Scotty, who lives out on White Clay Creek is the man you are looking for. I don't know his name but it may be Philip". A visit to the ranch was made, and there, in their little log home, he found Mrs. Philip and her little daughter Mary, their first born child. He was informed that his brother had that morning left with a freight train for the Hills. He followed along, and before long he caught up with the bull whackers among whom was Scotty. After a brief visit he was told to return

to the Hotel at the Agency and that Scotty would be there in the morning. Sure enough, before he was awake the next morning, there was Scotty in the full regalia of a new suit, perhaps purchased for the occasion. That visit so cemented the bonds between the brothers that it was never again necessary for either to hunt the other up, although letters from Scotty continued few and far between and usually meager.

NEW HOME AND COUNTY SEAT FIGHT

Freighting continued as the chief activity until 1881 when he moved with his family to the ranch on Bad River, about a mile below where the town of Powell is now located on the Chicago and North Western Railway, not far from the present city of Philip, the county seat of Haakon County. The region was then a part of the Great Sioux Reservation. There he lived until some time after that Reservation was opened by the Act of Congress of March 2nd, 1889, and the Proclamation of the President pursuant to the Act. When the Messiah craze which possessed the Sioux, and eventuated in the inglorious military effort at Wounded Knee, was at its height, Scotty's friendship for, and acquaintance with the Indians was considered of consequence by the authorities in handling the difficulties. The following letter written by Governor Mellette, the first Governor of South Dakota, to General Nelson A. Miles explains something about the conditions of that day.

Nov. 26, 1890

"Scotty Philip, who has a thousand head of cattle, and lives at the mouth of the Grindstone Butte Creek, eighty miles up Bad River with an Indian family, and Waldron, the cattle man, seven miles this side of Philip's, left their places at 2:00 p. m. yesterday to bring me intelligence. Philip is a very cool, courageous man, also a good scout through the Sioux Trouble of 1875-76 and Cheyenne Trouble of 1879. He is a reliable man of nerve, good judgment, and good character. He reports that he was never afraid of Indians before, and thinks there will be an uprising very soon, and bases his belief as follows: Eight days ago, five lodges, containing twelve bucks,

armed with Winchesters, and laden with ammunition, camped at his house going from Rosebud to a large camp which is formed on White River, at the mouth of Pass Creek. He talked with them an hour. They were surly and defiant in manner. One said he had seen the time when he used to beat out the brains of children and drink women's blood, and that the time was coming when he would do it again. He said Philip was raising horses for Indians to ride, and that the country was just as good now as in buffalo time as there were plenty of cattle in it. Philip knew these Indians well, Yellow Thigh being their leader.

Whitfield, a settler at Mouth of Pass Creek on White River, had his house broken open by the Indians, and all his horses and goods stolen about ten days ago. Philip, in the last few days, has had twenty cattle killed by the Indians, and Waldron, seven that they know of. Three half-breeds from White River stopped at Philip's house night before last and said they expected to find the settlements destroyed when they got home. The threats are against the half-breeds, and all Indians who won't join the Ghost Dance. Philip says everybody who has been among the Indians any length of time, outwardly expects that there is going to be an uprising, and that very quick. The Pass Creek Dance has been running for a month. Philip and Waldron say it is Short Bull's headquarters, and they think it is a point fixed for concentration for all the lodges. They think there are now one thousand lodges, and fifteen hundred warriors there. Indians claim they won't give up, and Short Bull will fight when the soldiers try to arrest them. They say as soon as the fight begins, a hail storm will kill the white soldiers. The Indians say they have shirts that are bullet-proof.

I know Philip well and will take his judgment on the situation in preference to anybody I know. If you deem this information of any importance, I can send a messenger to further investigate. I urgently request however, that you establish a post at Chamberlain and at Forest City, both points are reached by rail. I have requested Secretary of War, and again make the application through you, for one thousand guns and ammunition to be shipped to me at Huron."

When the Great Sioux Reservation was opened and the Indian lands west of the Missouri river were restricted to the smaller reservations of Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Lower Brule,

Cheyenne River and Standing Rock, the opportunities for improvement seemed greater on the Missouri River. Scotty moved with his family and located at the Town of Stanley about three miles above Fort Pierre. Scotty Philip and his old friend Buck Williams were the two leading champions of Stanley's availability as the county seat of Stanley County. A real contest between Fort Pierre and its near neighbor, Stanley, developed and at the election on April 15th, 1890, the vote which was dangerously close, was decided in favor of Fort Pierre. That spelled the end of Stanley, and the last building on the old Stanley townsite remaining after the other buildings had been moved to Fort Pierre, was owned jointly by Scotty and Buck Williams. A game of seven up was played to see which should own it all, and Buck lost. The big hotel was then moved in pieces to Fort Pierre, and the old timers can still tell which buildings in Fort Pierre are remodelled remnants of Scotty's Stanley Hotel. No man can claim to be truly Western who has never participated in a knock-down and drag-out county seat fight. It is the old story so common to the West, two rival towns, rivals only because of a few highly energized citizens, an ambition to be the county seat, a red hot fight, charges of election fraud and usually true in some measure, a close election and sometimes bloodshed. The losing town moves people, buildings and all to the winner, then shortly afterwards the court house fire destroys the records and leaves only the recollection of a controversy that seemed desperately serious at the time. So it was in the row between Fort Pierre and Stanley.

FAMILY

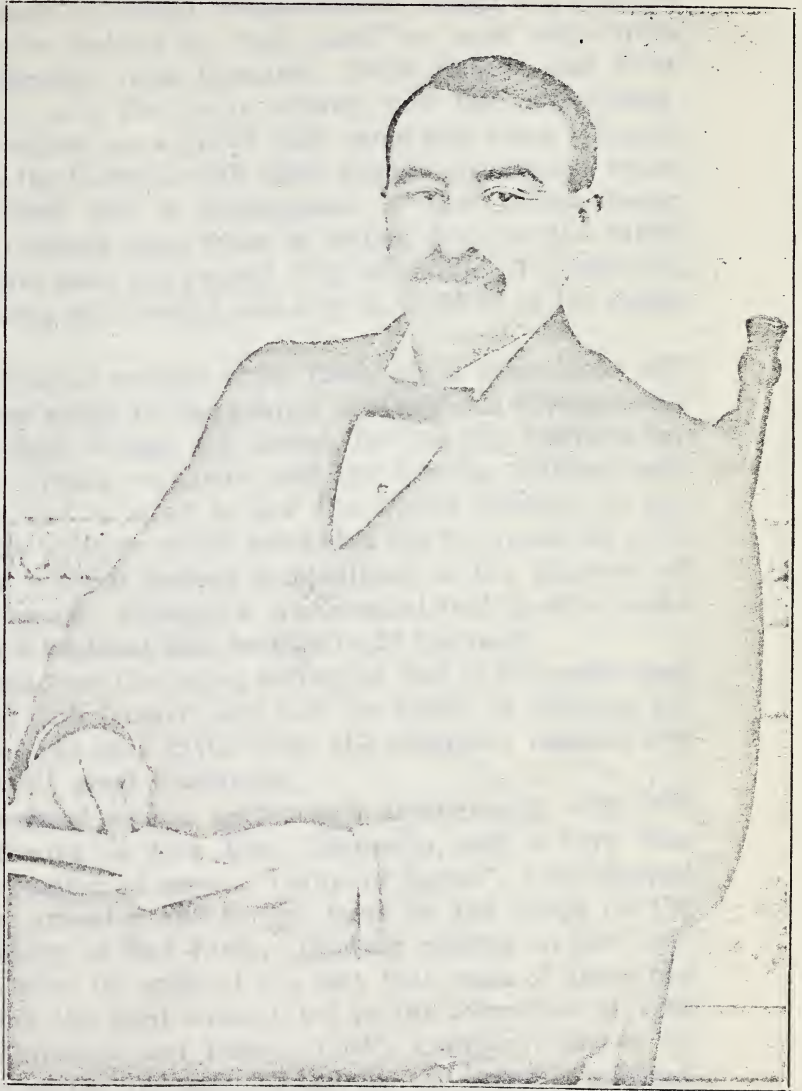
Scotty lived for a time at Stanley and then moved to Fort Pierre, where, it can be modestly enough asserted, he became the community's leading citizen.

Ten children were born to him and Sarah. Mary, the first child, died in infancy; Amy, the second child, Mrs. O. P. Joslin, died at Fort Pierre shortly before the death of her father. The next daughter, Tina, was born at their home on the site of old Fort Pierre, where the monument in com-

memoration of that historic fort was erected in 1931. This child died in infancy. Then was born Olive, Mrs. William Centerwall, who now lives at Lame Deer, Montana. The next child, Hazel, Mrs. W. S. Dean, of Sundance, Wyoming, recently died, and was buried in the family burial plot. Clara, now Mrs. W. J. Lindgren, lives at Miller, South Dakota, where her husband is engaged in the mercantile business. The first boy, George, died in infancy at the age of eight months. Stanley still makes his home at Fort Pierre. Roderick is engaged in farming near Midland, South Dakota. The youngest child, Annie, who was born in 1897, died in 1902, as the result of injury from a fall. Five of the children preceded their father in death, and the writer who was with him through two of those sad occasions well knows the deep seated grief he suffered. "Talk not of grief 'till thou hast seen the tears of warlike men."

BUSINESS

There seems to have been a natural course of evolution in the plainsman who was able to develop with the development of the country. The business of the West seemed set in grooves that the strong man could follow to the end. Scotty's case was typical and seemed to include all its phases. As a strong energetic boy he followed the will-o-the-wisp, gold, into the forbidden Black Hills, in 1875. Ushered out with the others by the troops he went back in again in 1875, only to be collected in another general roundup by the soldiers that same year. In 1876 he went back again with the mob to make his fortune in natural basic metal. Staying until the spring of 1877, where life was life at its roughest, he left the Hills and entered the military service at Fort Laramie, Wyoming. Then going on to Camp Robinson he entered into the service of the army in that most hazardous of all occupations,—scout and dispatch rider in hostile Indian territory. Then came the business of putting up hay for sale to the Fort, then a cowboy gathering the rudiments of cow sense as applied to the range. Gathering together a few horses and cattle, as opportunity and means



James Philip—Business Man

allowed, he laid the foundation of a business that afterwards grew to great proportions. The settling of the Black Hills, with no means of freight transportation, except the arduous and expensive method by "bull team" or mule team from Sidney, Nebraska, from Bismarck, North Dakota, and from Fort Pierre, gave rise to an entirely new line of business, and the freighter on a grand scale came into being. Scotty engaged in the business with other young, adventurous souls. Then the final step in development of that unique being called the cowman came when he settled down on the ranch on Bad River near the present City of Philip. The removal to Fort Pierre and vicinity was only an incident in the cattle business.

John Clay of western cattle fame, and a voluminous and entertaining writer on the subject of America's development, himself a Scot, divides the honors for the fur business between the French voyageurs and the Scottish settlers both in Canada and in what is now the United States. In the great cattle business which succeeded the fur trade, he gave first place without serious competitors to the pioneers of Scottish lineage. Perhaps it was natural that Scotty should engage in a business that seemed to fit his race.

By this time the young cattleman had so far progressed as to deal with bankers and ask for credit to increase his operations, and ship cattle from the extensive ranches and ranges of the great Southwest.

He entered into a partnership arrangement with Mr. Charles Steube of New Ulm, Minnesota, and a very considerable number of steers, "barnyard dogies", were shipped to Pierre, unloaded and turned loose on the range on the upper reaches of Bad River. Glowing reports on how well they had done (in spite of the fact that most of them had died during the hard winter) led to the formation in 1896 of the Minnesota and Dakota Cattle Company, known on the range as the 73 outfit, named for the brand it adopted. With its headquarters at the place of Scotty's original location on Bad River, extensive operations were commenced. Steube enlisted the interest of Mr. Mullen, a prominent banker at New Ulm, and the three men became the owners

of the 73 outfit. In the spring of 1897, Scotty, by that time having become acquainted with many of the big cattle operators of the Southwest and of Mexico, and having access to strong financial backing among his own associates, bought and shipped in thousands of head of cattle to the ranges on Bad River, a very considerable number being purchased on his own credit and burned with his own brand L-7, but the most of them were bought for the company and carried 73. By this time the natural increase of his horses on the range brought his horse herds up to large numbers. From them came the many saddle horses required to mount the numbers of men needed to handle large numbers of cattle on the range, and many of them, although none too gentle, were just as fine cowponies as ever carried a cowboy. Jack Borden, sometimes known as U Cross Jack, the father of Mrs. Roderick Philip, was foreman of the outfit, and employed among its riders were such outstanding cowboys as Tom Beverly, Billy Pressler, Si Hiett, Bunk White, Pecos Bill, Billy Hess, Slobbering Slim, and many others whose names were by-words on the range.

During the shipping of the first big beef herd from Fort Pierre in September, 1899, when the cattle were being ferried across the Missouri on the old Jim Leighton, which was afterwards superseded by a new and up to date Missouri River freight boat called "The Scotty Philip", to the stockyards at the railhead in Pierre, a dispute arose among the owners of the 73. Mr. Mullen, who had the bankers slant of that day, which meant that the banker's will was law to be imposed on others who must not question, undertook to tell Scotty how to run the 73. It was just one more illustration of the contact between the immovable object and the irresistible force. It could not be. A couple of men were told things with forceful certainty. Scotty called on his friend, Col. R. W. (Bob) Stewart, then a practicing lawyer in the firm of Horner and Stewart at Pierre, and afterwards the militant head of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, who was not afraid to tell even a Rockefeller where to go. Scotty offered Bob Stewart one thousand dollars to find a buyer for his interest in the 73, to leave Scotty a net for his sale of

\$65,000.00. Many believed that Scotty out-traded the future head of the Standard Oil when Stewart and Captain Joe Binder pooled their assets and bought the interest in the cattle company in order to make the thousand dollars. Be that as it may, Stewart and Binder became owners in the Minnesota and Dakota Cattle Company and Scotty went on his own. In the spring of the years 1900, 1901, 1902 and 1903, Scotty shipped in many thousands of Southern cattle to the "west of the river" ranges, and, in addition, he acquired a number of brands of local native cattle by purchase from the owners. By then he was running in his own right more cattle than were owned by the 73, and had what the vernacular of the cow country termed, a big outfit.

About the spring of 1903, the great migration known as the "homesteader settlement" began dotting the ranges with shacks and fire guards, and even fences which before that time were unknown. The country was settling up. The great cow country was passing out, never to return. The cowboy had made his last stand, and would never be known again, except in the tinselled, over-dressed, never-sweat counterfeit showman of the rodeo. There would be no more cow country. There could be no more cowboy. However much the passing of that unique epoch in America's development, symbolized by the cowboy, may regret the heart of youth it could not be otherwise. He must go as surely as did the mail clad knight of the Middle Ages, with no possibility of return.

That condition caused by too many folks seeking to crowd into "God's country" made necessary a rearrangement of the cowman's business. Many of them were not able to fit themselves into the changed conditions and floundered along. Scotty arranged with the Government for lease rights on the Lower Brule Indian Reservation and continued to operate quite extensively, but not on the grand scale of the open range days, until the time of his death in 1911.

From the time he engaged extensively in the cattle business in the "Gay Nineties" the steadily increasing prices of cattle made it very profitable. He acquired the large ranch on the Missouri River above Fort Pierre, which is

even yet known as the "Buffalo Pasture". He also acquired many other lands and properties in many parts of the State, and became heavily interested in banks. Whether his business acumen, which all admitted, would be sufficient to carry him through such days of depressed finance as are now upon this country, and indeed the world, may well be a matter of conjecture on which there can be no proof, and one man's guess is as good as another's. However that may be, in spite of many ups and downs, in spite of financial disasters that would have chilled the ardor of many, Scotty Philip was a business success in his day.

VISIT TO THE HOMELAND

In 1900, in company with the son of his brother George of Hays, Kansas, he made his only return visit to the land of his birth. They visited the Paris Exposition, and made a long visit to the scenes and the friends of his boyhood in the hills of Northern Scotland. Although he and his nephew had experiences of great interest to themselves and their families, the incidents were such as are common to visits of that nature, and were too personal to be of public interest. It was always a source of pleasure to him to remember and recount the doings of his visit to the Homeland.

A STRANGE REUNION

In the spring of 1875 when the decision was made to move on into the great Northwest, he and another young fellow, whose name is not now available, started out together on the long journey towards no place in particular. Some distance into the Indian Country, somewhere along the Platte they woke up one morning to find that the Indians had stolen their horses. The two boys laid low for several days and eventually located the Indian Camp. That night they slipped into the camp to get their own horses and any others that might be handy, and in Scotty's own words he "did not lose on the transaction." Some disturbance aroused the Indians, and, in making their escape the two

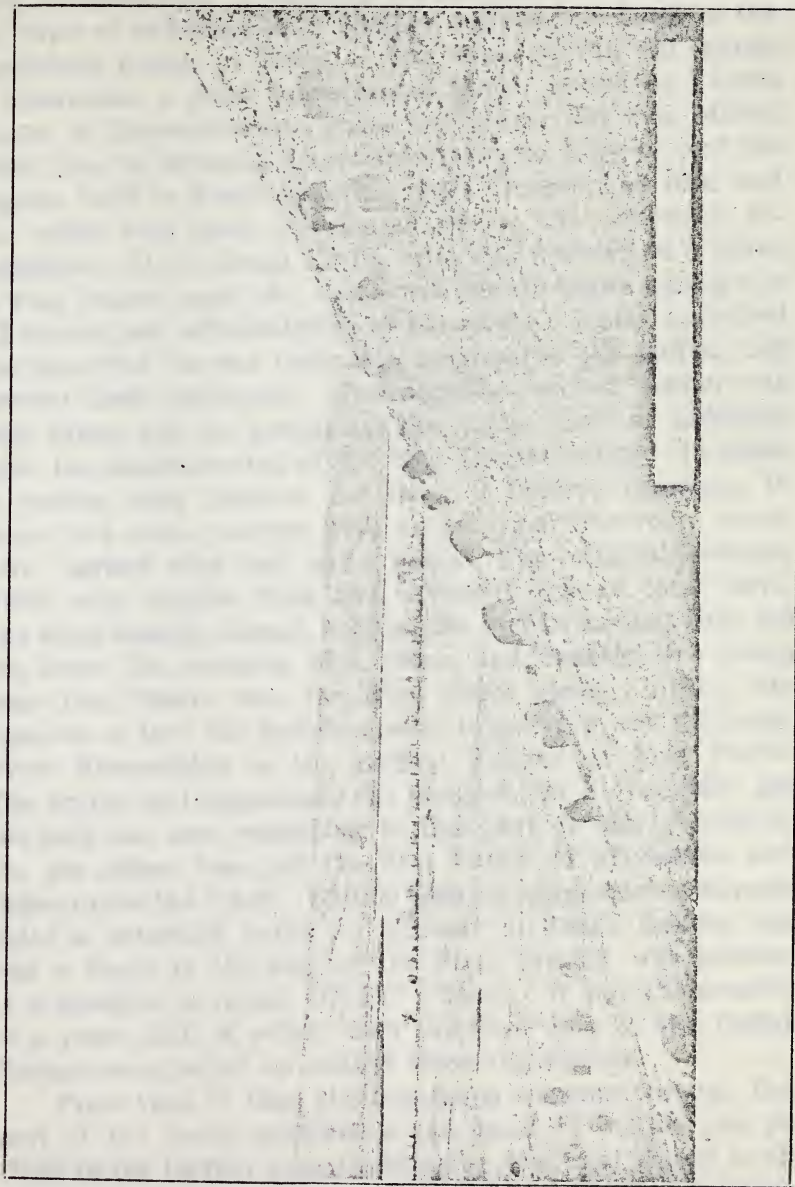
young fellows were separated. Scotty for over twenty-five years believed that the Indians got his friend.

In the spring of 1901, Scotty made a large shipment of southern cattle into that liveliest of all live towns on occasion, Evarts. By reason of something being wrong with the ferry boat at that point, it became necessary to swim the cattle across the Missouri to get them on the west-of-the-river ranges. The assistance of the ferryman was procured to use his skiff to do the rescue act for any cowboy who might have bad luck in the crossing, and, incidentally Scotty himself was the only one who got into trouble, and had to be pulled into the boat. After the cattle and cowboys were safely across the river a little visiting brought out the fact that Scotty and the ferryman were meeting for the first time since the night in '75 on the Platte when they were separated in the pursuit by the Indians. Each until then, thought the Indians had got the other.

PRESERVING THE BUFFALO

On the last big buffalo hunt which took place on the Grand River in 1881, Pete Dupree, the son of old Frederick Dupree, the early day French trapper who settled with the Sioux Indians and married into the tribe, captured five buffalo calves, which became exhausted in the chase. These calves were taken alive, loaded into a wagon, and brought to his home on the Cheyenne River near where the iron bridge now makes safe a former precarious crossing. The five calves were turned loose on the reservation with the Dupree cattle. By the time they reached maturity they seemed to have forgotten the migratory habits of their ancestors, and adopted the moderate home loving habits of their foster parents, the range cattle. They prospered and multiplied. They even crossed with the native cattle, producing a cross sometimes called the cattalo, a rough and undesirable animal, too much cattle to be valuable as buffalo and too much buffalo to be valuable as cattle. Scotty catalogued this cross as "not worth a damn."

At that time the buffalo was fast becoming as extinct as the carrier pigeon. The millions of them that had roamed



Buffalo on the Philip Ranch near Fort Pierre

the plains were killed off, a fierce indictment of the white man's wantonness. Practically all the bison in existence at the close of the nineteenth century were a few head on the Goodnight Ranch in Texas, a few head on the 101 Ranch in Oklahoma, a small transplanted bunch owned by Corbin Austin in Massachusetts, where they never did well, Michel Pablo herd in Montana afterwards taken to Alberta, and the Dupree herd in South Dakota. Pete Dupree had died and his estate was being distributed among his numerous descendants. D. F. (Dug) Carlin, who was married to a sister of Pete Dupree, and who was a well known figure among the old timers, was administrator of his estate. Scotty conceived the idea that he was then able to preserve the buffalo and prevent their extinction. The decision reached, action was soon taken and he purchased the entire herd of buffaloes from the administrator of the Pete Dupree estate. In order to furnish safe quarters for them it became necessary to fence in a large pasture with extraordinarily strong woven wire, barbed wire and large posts. The original pasture, which was smaller than the extensive one of later days, was more heavily fenced, because the buffalo to that time did not know the meaning of a fence, and, besides, the ranch near Fort Pierre was far from their home. In the late summer of 1901 the buffaloes were taken from the Cheyenne River Reservation to the Buffalo Pasture at Fort Pierre. The writer well remembers the incident, for he was one, and the only one now remaining in this part of the country, of the six riders who put the first bunch of fifty-seven buffaloes under the fence. Buffalo George, who afterwards made quite a notorious name for himself in South Dakota, and was a thorn in the side of the State Sheriff, was another. It is needless to repeat "Buff's" history. It was the occasion of a great sigh of relief when the west gate of the Buffalo Pasture was nailed up behind those big fellows.

From time to time the round-ups working through that part of the range gathered a few head of buffalo and put them in the buffalo pasture, bringing the total placed in the fence up to eighty-three. All the mixed bloods or cattalo, were butchered and sold, and none but the full bloods kept.

From them came the large herd that at one time numbered over nine hundred. The splendid herds in the Custer State Park and other places came from this herd, and today there seems no danger that the American bison will become extinct. The United States Government has more buffalo in the Yellowstone National Park than it can handle and is now offering free specimens to those equipped to care for them. There are plenty of buffalo.

A few of the older buffalo, and particularly some "renegade" bulls, which had grown to mature old age, refused to be moved from their location on the Cheyenne River Indian Reservation. The best efforts of competent riders could not get them away. As a consequence, a buffalo hunt was organized by Scotty, C. N. Herreid, then Governor of South Dakota, and Tom Phillips of Pierre, and the renegade buffaloes were killed in the hunt. Some splendid specimens were preserved as a result.

In 1906 the National Congress passed an act allowing an area of about thirty-five hundred acres to be withdrawn from public entry. This land was located on the west bank of the Missouri River, and was rented to Scotty Philip, "exclusively for the pasturing of native buffalo and for no other purpose." This land for which there was paid the nominal annual rental of fifty dollars, was enclosed with a large acreage of land privately owned, and for years the Scotty Philip buffalo herd was a tourist attraction, which at that time had no equal in the State of South Dakota.

Although the primary purpose was the preservation of the bison from extinction, it was not a losing venture for him from the standpoint of dollars and cents. Many were sold to museums and parks at good figures, and it was not unusual for butcher shops in various parts of the country to go into the buffalo meat business as a novelty during the Holiday Season.

AFFILIATIONS

Although very little inclined towards the holding of public office, Scotty Philip always held an active interest in and close contact with public affairs. Only on two

occasions did he permit himself to seek or accept any public office, first as a member of the Board of County Commissioners of the newly organized County of Stanley, and later he was a member of the State Senate in 1899, during the second term of the administration of Governor Andrew E. Lee. Being a Democrat all of his voting life, he was in alignment with "Honest Andy's" administration and policies. That also brought him into close friendship with a young Democratic Senator from Beresford, who afterwards attained a great deal of political prominence in this State. That was W. J. (Bill) Bulow, who at the beginning of 1931 had just completed four years as Governor, and on March 4th, 1931, took his seat as a United States Senator from South Dakota. Another member of that Senate was Col. R. W. Stewart, then of Pierre, to whom reference has already been made. Still another was Carl Gunderson, later Governor of South Dakota, defeated for re-election by Bill Bulow in 1926. What strange trail crossings there are in the affairs of men.

The political souvenir which always most of all seemed to please Scotty was general fund warrant No. 1 of Stanley County, signed by himself as Chairman of the Board of County Commissioners. This warrant he had framed in his home. His attitude toward life in general, and towards the warrant, was illustrated by a remark he made to an acquaintance about a month before his death in 1911. This acquaintance was then very active in Masonic affairs and had just been elected to an office in the Grand Lodge. Although he was a Mason, Scotty never took a very active interest in Masonic affairs. When he next saw this acquaintance he said, "I see that they gave you an office in the Grand Lodge. Does that mean you will be Grand Master in three years?" The acquaintance said, "That is what it usually means, and it will probably mean it in my case. No doubt that seems trifling to you, Scotty, but I think it is quite a thing." Scotty quickly retorted, "There is nothing trifling at the top". That remark explains the framing of the warrant. It was warrant No. 1. He was Chairman of the Board. Although he was always a Democrat he refused

to wear a party collar. He was usually willing to expend a little money and effort for a friend at election, and party ties sat lightly when a friend was involved.

His membership in the Masonic Lodge at Fort Pierre seemed a source of satisfaction to him. He was a member of the Scottish Rite Bodies at Yankton, the Chapter and Commandery at Pierre and the Shrine at Sioux Falls. The Scottish Rite degrees were conferred on him by Yankton Masons at Pierre in a rather memorable class of five. The other members were Governor Andrew E. Lee, Alex C. Johnson, later of Chicago and North Western Railway Company fame, Dr. C. J. Lavery, then of Fort Pierre and now of Aberdeen, and George D. Mathieson of Fort Pierre, since deceased. The latter two were pall-bearers when Scotty was laid away. Alex Johnson's contribution was of another sort, and will be mentioned. Scotty was not what is usually called a "joiner", and restricted his fraternal affiliations to those mentioned.

He was not a member of a church, but his purse strings were easily loosened at the call of any church. Let it not be understood however, that he was irreligious. His attitude was that of the man of the plains who saw, and felt he knew, nature and nature's God in a big way. He perhaps had small regard for the forms of religious expression as exemplified in sectarian differences, but had a high regard for things that were truly sacred. He was the plainsman, the frontiersman, and his close communion with the world of stern reality enabled him in matters of religion to see "things of which the white haired scholar never dreamed."

LA VERENDRYE PLATE

In March, 1743, when as the representative of the French, the Chevalier de La Verendrye, who afterwards fell alongside his mortally wounded leader, Montcalm, on the Heights of Abraham in the Battle of Quebec, sought a depositary for the last lead plate with which he sought to establish the title to the newly discovered land in the name of the French King, he chose a hill overlooking the confluence of Bad River with the Missouri. When Scotty Philip

chose a residence site for his home in Fort Pierre he chose a hill overlooking the mouth of Bad River. In February of 1913, when the lead plate was kicked from the ground by Harriet Foster, George O'Rielly and Lester Stroup, while playing with other school children, it was found back of the home of Scotty Philip in his lifetime. Was it a coincidence that these two men chose the same hill, or did a similar spirit move the two?

CHARACTERISTICS

It is always a difficult thing to analyze the thoughts and habits of another. No man ever more truly lived up to his own text than the subject of this sketch when on one occasion there was put up to him the question of punishment for a wrong done. His answer was "I don't want anything to do with it, but if it was my job I'd be generous before I'd be just." Passing a great part of his life in an atmosphere where men, as Kipling said, "don't grow into plaster saints", he was not a stranger to the seamy side. He never used tobacco in any form, but the cigar, Scotty Philip, was popular with smokers. Although he was not a teetotaler, it was rarely that he used intoxicating liquor. He simply did not care for it at all, but he was a bitter anti-prohibitionist. On occasion, when his home town of Fort Pierre went dry under the then existing local option law, he unhesitatingly denounced the policy. What a splendid display of irony (and he had it) he could give if he could only look in on 1931.

Apropos of liquor comes the story of the snake bite. Along about 1909, the writer was going home late one beautiful moonlit night. A buckboard and team drove up to the gate and the robust form of Scotty was easily discernible in the moonlight as was that of Bull Marshall, the mixed blood who was driving. Scotty's left leg was wrapped in white, and the knowledge that he had gone to his ranch on the Lower Brule, and that horses sometimes fall, prompted the inquiry, "What's the matter? Have you broken your leg?" He answered "No sir, I've been snake bit and I'm drunker than hell." His remark seemed at the time an

attempt to conceal the chagrin he felt towards himself, after outwitting the hazards of the prairie for so long, to allow himself to be victimized by a rattle snake. When the very considerable job of getting the big man out of the buckboard up the hill and into the house, out of his clothes and into bed, was completed the few minutes wait for Dr. Walsh seemed long. Scotty remarked "I believe I'll get over the snake bite all right, but Oh Lord, when I start to get sober." The doctor came, the leg was lanced, the crude tourniquet was released and Scotty started on the road to recovery and sobriety, both of which he achieved. Then the story was told that earlier in the day, at a corral near the mouth of Medicine Creek while looking at some cattle he was bitten in the calf of the leg by a rattlesnake. A cloth was twisted by a stick around the leg above the wound. Then began the search on the reservation for whiskey, which was popularly supposed to have great medicinal properties in cases of snake bite. Although it was Indian country, and whiskey was forbidden, it was forthcoming in sufficient quantity to make delusions of grandeur supplant those of persecution. Then began the slow drag for him and Bull Marshall with the team and buckboard to Fort Pierre, forty miles away. Before that he had had every other thrill the West afforded except a rattlesnake bite.

Frank and outspoken he was, and no one need ever remain in doubt as to his views on any subject on which he held views. A keen judge of men, he never hesitated to back the man he trusted, and the fact that the man was down meant nothing. Honest he was and proud, with a keen sense of obligation. At one time when the going was bad and his liabilities were greater than his assets a creditor bank offered to settle for one-half of the obligation. His answer was "My name is on that paper." The only payment that he recognized from himself was "paid in full."

Never wasteful he was often unduly generous, yet shrewd to see the advantage in a business deal. He hunted no bargains and believed that nothing was cheap unless he had use for it. Never grasping nor seeking the last dollar in a deal, he would often remark, "All I want is a reason-

able profit, and I don't care how much the other fellow makes. No one ever went broke taking profits." The genuine seeker after learning never appealed to Scotty Philip in vain, and never was there any self glorification on his part for generous acts through which others were enabled to better themselves. Although naturally a quiet, reserved man he had a keen sense of humor, always appreciative of a joke, even when it was on him. At times he was not above taking an effective hand in the prevailing habit of "joshing". Many can remember the twinkle in his eye when on occasion he would turn to his associate in the land business, John McPherson, and repeat the Highlandman's Prayer, and the emphasis he could place on the concluding sentence, "And now, Oh Lord, send us lots of swords and pistols to kill all the McPhersons, God Damn them forever. Amen." He had the frontiersman's working plan of keeping all the details of his business in his head, and bookkeeping for him was an undiscovered art. His oral promise needed no fortification by written contract,—it was always good.

He easily left the horse and buggy age for that of the automobile, although he never stopped or started his car without indulging an involuntary "Whoa" or "Get-up." His mind re-acted in a lively way to the developments of a scientific age and he made use of them to his advantage. The artesian well with its natural gas he used for many ranch and domestic purposes. A visit to Aberdeen set him to thinking how he could best adopt the idea of a sewage disposal plant in which a "bug" ate up the sewerage of a whole city. Irrigation claimed his attention and at the time of his death he had large plans for the irrigation from the Missouri River, not only of the wide river bottoms on his ranch, but also of the extensive level country above the Missouri River brakes to the west of Fort Pierre, known as the Giddings Flats. That work stopped with him. He was in step with progress. In the words of his friend, Col. Bob Stewart, "Scotty had vision."

All his life he was a plain and unostentatious man, never a poser nor a bluffer. He never pretended to be that which he was not, nor to conceal what he was. Also he was

not above backing his judgment with his cash on anything from the result of a national election to the direction in which the bird would fly. He was schooled in an atmosphere where "I'll bet you" was not an idle phrase. Storymakers in their efforts to be entertaining tell of gun plays and wild doings, but all that is trash and without a sign of foundation for he never pointed a gun at a fellow man in his life. He was a builder not a killer. On one occasion he was much downcast as he told the writer over the supper table, "I hit a man in anger today for the first time in my life." He told the details. His range foreman, Si Hiett, was in the habit of indulging periodically in cowboy relaxation. Although Scotty would fire him on such occasions Si would not remember, and the next that would be heard of him, the highly competent cowman, now sobered up, would be back running the outfit, with no recollection of having lost his job. On this day Si drew a knife and made a pass at his employer, cutting his coat. Scotty hit him and the back of Si's head hit the sidewalk on the Stock Growers Bank corner. Si was out and Scotty carried him upstairs to the office of Dr. Walsh, who sewed his wound and fixed him up at Scotty's expense. The next day, the incident forgotten, Si, wondering how he hurt his head, was running the cow outfit, and his employer was regretting that he had hit a man in anger for the first time in his life. Never the blusterer, never the gun man of the books or the movies, never the swash buckler even in minor degrees, he went his way through life in friendly fashion, liked and respected by men, and not taken too lightly by the ladies.

PURELY PERSONAL

The first person has not been permitted to enter into this somewhat meager narrative of this man who was a powerful Western Figure. The use of the first person should be pardoned for one sentence. I considered him the grandest man I ever knew, and I loved and respected him as I never did and never will another.

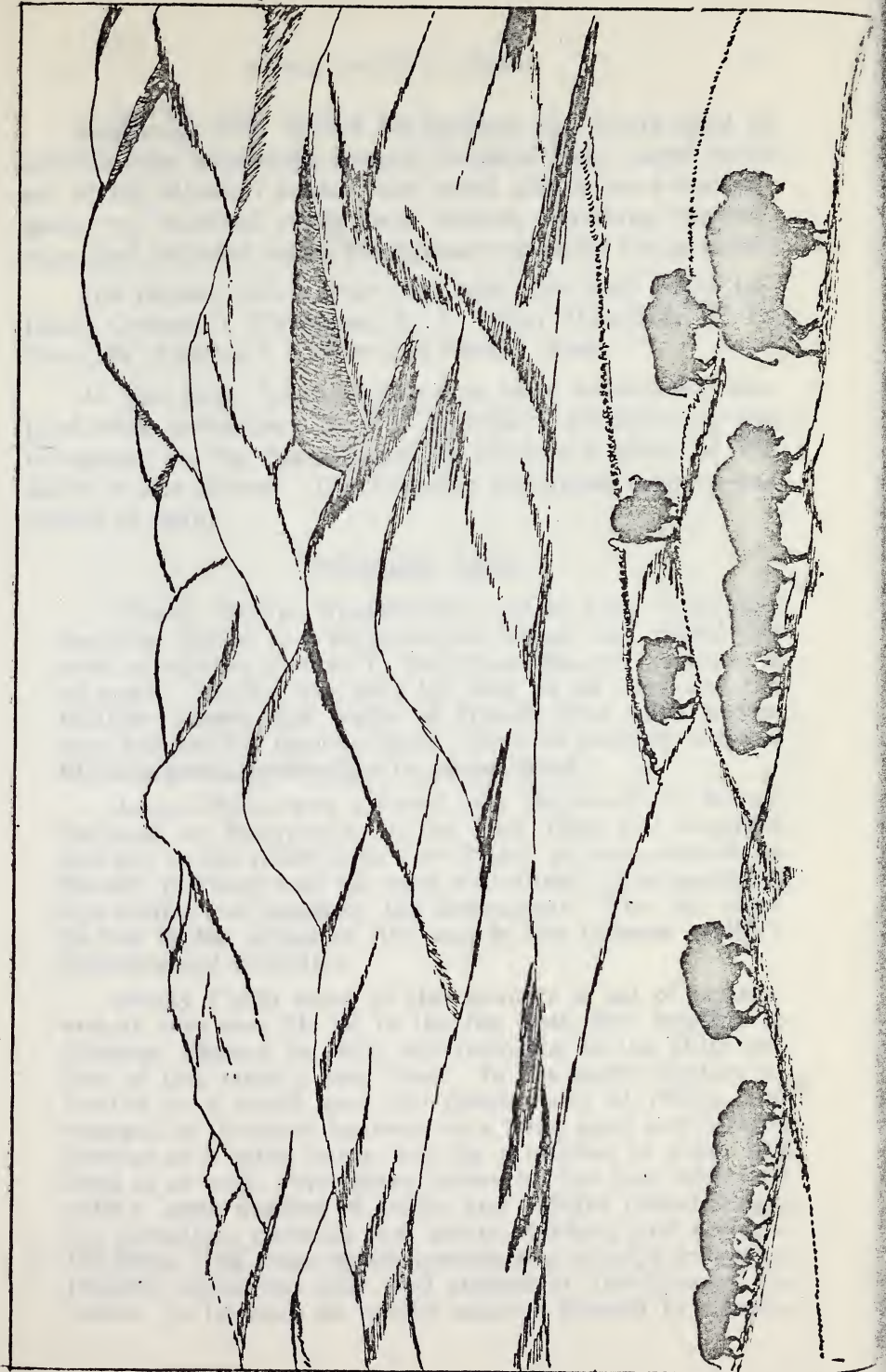
FAMILY LOT

In order to collect the graves of his five deceased children, and to furnish a private burial ground on his ranch overlooking the Missouri, with the help of Eli Lindsay he laid out his family grave yard. It was entirely completed on the night of Saturday, July 22nd, 1911. Nothing more was needed to be done with it for the immediate present. How little we know beyond the curtain.

DEATH AND BURIAL

When Dr. Walsh reported to the citizens of Fort Pierre in the early hours of that Sunday morning, July 23rd, 1911 that Scotty Philip had just died at the home at the Buffalo Pasture from a cerebral hemorrhage, he gave the word that shocked that community as it had never been shocked before and has not since. Friends hurried to the assistance of the family, yet scarce believing that he could be gone. They realized there was none to take his place, there were no more like him. They knew now that no more would that splendid form with its great breadth of shoulder, its two hundred and forty pounds of bone and muscle towering above his fellows, with its majestic head topped off with a broad brimmed Stetson hat, as he stepped briskly along the streets of his town and theirs, be seen among them. Scotty was dead at 53.

The funeral was held from the ranch home on the afternoon of Wednesday, July 26th, 1911. It was said to be the largest gathering of its kind ever held in the Northwest. Many hundreds were in attendance. A special train was put on by the Chicago and North Western Railway Company, under orders from the then General Passenger Agent, afterwards General Traffic Manager and Vice-President, his friend, Alex Johnson, another prince of good fellows, to carry persons free of charge to the funeral as the railroad's compliment to the memory of Scotty Philip. Bankers, commissionmen, merchants, associated with cattlemen and Indians, who had come from far distances to pay the last tribute of devotion, and tears coursed down the cheeks of hard swearing, hard drinking, hard working cowboys, unashamed.



As though they sensed his passing, the entire herd of buffalo, then numbering several hundred head, came down out of the Missouri brakes, and stood quietly on a hill-side about two hundred yards away intently watching the services that included laying their preserver under the ground.

The pioneer pall-bearers who bore him were Louis La-Plant, George D. Mathieson, L. Z. (Tex) Hemphill, W. H. Frost, Dr. Charles J. Lavery and Fred S. Rowe.

At that time, South Dakota was more numerously supplied with newspapers than it is today. Probably no one newspaper in the State failed to carry the story of the death of this pioneer. The following newspaper account was typical of many.

PIONEER DIES

"Scotty Philip, frontiersman, cattle king, promoter, financier, genial and whole-souled friend, and withal the most prominent pioneer in the trans-Missouri country, is no more. 'Scotty' has gone the way of all men, and the familiar haunts and hosts of friends who have known him will see his face no more. Only in memory will his life and genial personality be perpetuated.

James Philip was ushered into the world in Bonnie Scotland, at Morayshire, in the year 1858, and departed this life at his ranch near Fort Pierre at seven o'clock on Sunday morning July 23, aged fifty-three. The summons was swift, and apoplexy the instrument. The call came to him in the prime of life, and in the fullness of life's interests and activities.

Scotty Philip came to this country a lad of sixteen, and at once cast his lot in the far west, first locating in Victoria, Kansas, in 1874, and removing to the Hills section of this state a year later. In the early eighties he located on a ranch near the present site of Philip, and engaged in the stock business on a large scale and became famous as a cattle baron, but for a number of years has lived at or near, Fort Pierre, where he has been identified with a large number of public and private undertakings, his operations covering real estate, banking and mercantile lines. His most recent venture was a large irrigation project, which was only well started at the time of his death. In business he readily adapted himself to circum-

stances, was a square dealer, and was the type of man the misfortune could not down, having survived many reverses that would have crushed the ordinary man.

He was a man of large stature, large plans and large heart, and will be mourned by a host of friends, not only locally, but all over the West and South, where he was perhaps the best known plainsman of Dakota, being widely known as the owner of the famous Dupree buffalo herd which roam the confines of a large pasture on the banks of the Big Muddy.

He leaves a wife, three daughters, and two sons and his nephew, George Philip, who have the sympathy of the many who claimed James Philip as their friend.

The funeral was held Wednesday afternoon and was attended by a multitude of old timers and friends of the deceased, being the largest funeral and the most remarkable gathering that ever congregated in this section. The pioneer of Indian days and the homesteader mingled their tears with the citizenship of Fort Pierre and the Capital City in a tribute of respect to the departed. Burial took place in a spot but recently selected by the deceased, in a grassy meadow at the foot of the rugged bluffs and overlooking the course of the mighty Missouri and the little city whose interests he had made his own. Here rest the ashes of "Scotty" Philip, in surroundings typical of the environment in which he spent his life."

In the little family burial ground looking east to the Missouri River, peacefully resting, lies Scotty Philip in the restless West he helped to build.

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THANK YOU

The welcome given to the *Review* has been gratifying. Many fine letters of commendation have been received. The newspapers have been generous in giving space to our new publication.

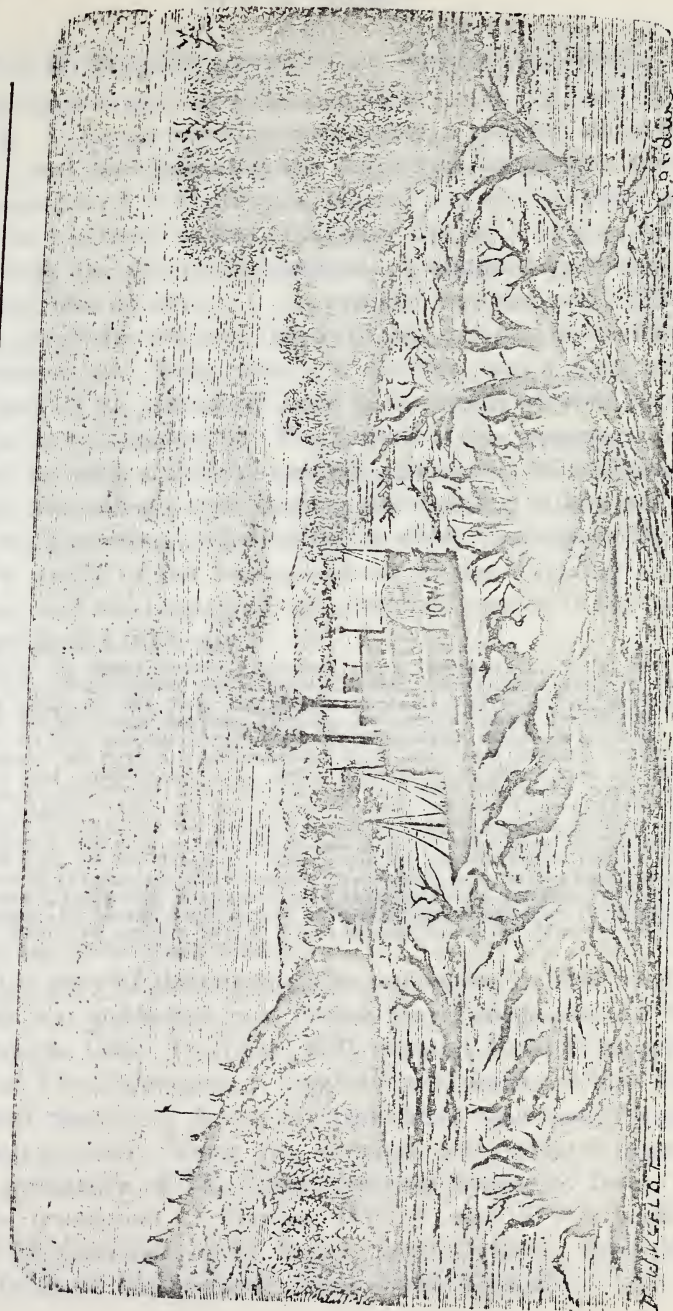
It is with pleasure that we present the two journals which make up the January number. While the first article was published in a French magazine in 1864, it has never appeared in a complete English translation. In the time allotted us it was not possible to learn any biographical facts about the author. We were more fortunate in securing information about the author of the second article and the sketch follows the journal herein.

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(Pagination will be continuous through the four numbers of the volume.)

LE TOUR DU MONDE.



STEAMBOAT NAVIGATION ON THE MISSOURI RIVER

A TRIP TO THE BAD LANDS IN 1849

BY E. DE GIRARDIN

I

TRIP FROM SAINT LOUIS TO FT. PIERRE CHOUTEAU

I had gone to seek my fortune in Saint Louis, the great city of Missouri. In turn a commission merchant, a peddler, and a mule driver, I was also following the current of emigration toward the promised land of California, when I met an American geologist¹ who was ready to leave that very day for a long exploring trip through the American continent. I obtained permission to accompany him as artist. I was granted two hours in which to prepare myself for the trip, that is to say, to buy a pair of buckskin breeches, two flannel shirts, a revolver, and a gun; and I started out on the steamboat *Iowa* in the midst of such turmoil and noise as was deafening. The friends of the passengers overwhelmed us with a hail of oranges and shouts of enthusiastic goodbye; the officers were beating the drunken sailors and the crowd was quarreling and swearing in every language of the old and new world, to the accompaniment of the whistling of our steamboat and the roaring of our powerful engines as the smoke enveloped us in a thick cloud.

¹ Probably Dr. John Evans, geologist, b. in Portsmouth, N. H., Feb. 14, 1812; d. in Washington, D. C., April 13, 1861. His father, Richard Evans, was a judge of the New Hampshire supreme court. After taking his degree at St. Louis Medical College, he served under Dr. David Dale Owen, on the geological surveys of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Nebraska. He first attracted notice, both here and abroad, by his discovery and description of a large deposit of fossil bones of extinct species in the "Mauvaises Terres" of the then Nebraska region—now South Dakota. He was later commissioned by the United States government to carry on the geological surveys of Oregon and Washington territories, and was subsequently geologist of the Chiriqui Commission. At the time of his death he was preparing an elaborate report of his surveys of Oregon and Washington. See Report of a Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota, and Incidentally a Portion of Nebraska Territory, by David Dale Owen. United States Geologist, Philadelphia, 1852. The map therein by Dr. Evans is said to be the first detailed map of any part of the Black Hills area.

[This story of the trip made to our region in 1849 by E. de Girardin was published in a French travel magazine, *Le Tour du Monde*, in 1864. In March, 1927, chapters I and II were published in *The Palimpsest*, a monthly publication of The State Historical Society of Iowa; the translation was made by Miss Elizabeth Conrad. These two chapters are reprinted here by special permission of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

The translation of chapters III, IV, and V was made by Mrs. S. M. Stockdale, of Ft. Pierre, South Dakota. Both translators followed the original closely.—The Editor]

It is well known that American steamboats do not resemble in the slightest the frail craft of our rivers. These are immense structures three stories high surmounted by tall chimneys; they are really caravansaries where the traveller finds all the luxury and comfort of a first-class hotel. In fact a Saint Louis woman wishing to give a high idea of a house furnished and decorated with great luxury, said: "It is almost as elegant as a steamboat!"

We were about two hundred passengers, mostly steerage passengers, poor adventurers engaged for a year with the American Company, which trades in furs from the Far West. There were types from every country in the world; bearded Parisians, some political victims, and others deserters from the colony of Cabet; Danes, Germans, Spaniards, English, Irish, negroes, mulattoes, Indians, and half-breeds. The most numerous, however, were Canadians. Endowed with iron constitutions, used to travel and dangers, these are excellent hunters and indefatigable seekers after adventure.

In the cabin, we had three geologists, a botanist, two officers from the American army, and a young German prince with his staff. The Indian race was represented by two women, pure blooded savages. The one, a daughter of a Black Foot chief, and married to a director of the Fur Company, is well known in the upper Missouri region because of the happy influence which she exercises there.²

Only at the moment of leaving do I learn the destination of the *Iowa*. This boat, belonging to the American Company, makes each year one trip to the upper Missouri, stopping at different trading posts situated on the river, and leaving there the newly employed men, provisions and merchandise.

It is a long trip of forty days to go up stream to Fort Union, an establishment situated at the confluence of the Yellowstone, six hundred and seventy-five leagues from Saint Louis and eleven hundred from New Orleans. However, since steamboats of heavy tonnage can, during four or five months of the year, go up as far as Fort Benton,³ situated in the land of the Black Feet

² Mrs. Alexander Culbertson.

³ It was not until July 2, 1860 that a steamboat actually reached Ft. Benton. See Chittenden-History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River, I, 219-20.

and ten leagues from the great falls of the Missouri, one may say that the great river is navigable for twelve hundred and sixteen leagues.

Going with difficulty up stream against a current of from four to five kilometers an hour, we pass in front of the slopes of Gasconade, remarkable for their beautiful cliffs covered with verdure; then come Jefferson City, the capital of Missouri, and Independence where the Mormons in their hegira had established their new Zion, and from which they were driven by the Missourians.

To-day this little town is filled with emigrants on their way to California, and a steam ferryboat continually crosses the river, transporting from one shore to the other a great number of wagons, many herds of cattle and horses, as well as thousands of emigrants, men, women and children.

After a period of interruption caused by many deceptions, a new epidemic of gold fever has just broken out. The farmers are selling their lands for nothing; lawyers are abandoning their studies; merchants, ministers, presbyterians, methodists, or baptists, all are donning a red flannel shirt; and, a revolver in their belts, a carbine over their shoulders, they are going in long caravans toward the new Eldorado.

The wagons of emigrants, covered with a large canvas, are arranged on the inside with much order and neatness. It is a rolling cabin in which the owner must live for six or seven long months, and which he makes as comfortable as possible.

The pistols and guns, indispensable arsenal for the adventurer into the Far West, are hung on the interior walls of the wagon. In one corner is attached the cast-iron stove which is set up at each camp in order to cook biscuits; here and there are also hung household utensils and equipment. One finds in almost all these rolling tents some works of history and geography, and always a Bible, the inseparable companion of the American emigrant.

Some emigrants write their name and profession on the outside of their canvas. I read on one of these wagons:

J. B. SMITH, DENTIST FROM NEW YORK

ASK THE TEAMSTER

The teamster was no other than the dentist himself. After



DOTTED LINES SHOW DE GIRARDIN'S ROUTE

having unhitched his oxen and cooked his dinner he put on a black coat, and, like the charlatans of our fairs, he had his victims get into the wagon, and he pulled their teeth, *without pain*, for the modest sum of one *piaster*.

They showed me a large wagon covered with a white canvas with blue stripes and hermetically closed. It is inhabited, they tell me, by six young girls who are going to the gold mines to seek husbands and an independent position. They are said to be very pretty, and especially very *respectable*, and the proof of this latter assertion is that each evening they bolt their calico door with pins which shuts up their wagon.

Leaving, not without regret, the encampment of the emigrants, we pass rapidly the mouth of the Kansas River, Fort Leavenworth, the military establishment of great importance because of its position on the frontier of Indian territory, and Saint Joseph, a city founded yesterday and already rich and commercial.

There all traces of civilization stop. Farther up the river, the banks are desert, navigation becomes more difficult, and steamboats must give up traveling at night, in order to avoid the sand bars which often bar the river and necessitates continual soundings.

The bed of the river becomes more and more winding and the current so rapid that we take four hours to pass the mouth of the Sioux River. They were using full power, however, the boat was trembling in its whole frame; sometimes the forward end would disappear completely under the water which covered the deck; we would have advanced a few inches, but the current seemed to double its force and we would drop back again. Our captain, furious, has a barrel of resin thrown into the furnaces. It is a solemn moment for the passengers, who, while they dread an explosion, are keenly interested in the struggle.

What most impresses the traveller going up the Missouri, is the immense number of enormous trees, carried by the current and sticking in the muddy bed of the river, showing often only a point at the surface of the water and causing numerous and terrible disasters to boats. Sometimes these trunks of trees, tangled together and piled upon each other, form little islands

covering an extent of several miles, and it is with difficulty that the boats can make their way by a thousand zigzags. Therefore it is impossible to navigate at night, and at sunset the boat is solidly tied up at the shore. Since the country is totally uninhabited and since one finds there neither coal nor wood cut in advance, our eighty men of the crew, armed with axes, work great havoc in the old forests of cedars and poplars which grow on both banks.

The companies which engage in fur trading on American territory are only two in number: the American Fur Company, and that of the Opposition. The most inveterate hate exists between the employees of these two companies, and they do not hesitate before any means of doing each other mutual harm, when the occasion presents itself.

One day when we were passing in front of a *blokhaus* or winter post belonging to the Company of the Opposition, our captain took pleasure in sending his whole crew ashore to demolish houses, fortifications, and palisades. The whole was brought on board and provided fuel for a day's journey. A few days later, the boat belonging to the other company took vengeance by repeating, at another point, the innocent joke of our captain and completely destroying a winter post of the American Company.

This long trip becomes tiresome and monotonous. Day after day we go up stream and the volume of water which rolls on its bed of mud seems to augment under our keel, the islands of tree trunks are less numerous, the heavy growth of cottonwood trees which border the banks gives place to prairies as far as the eye can reach, and, sometimes, a column of smoke visible on the horizon indicates an Indian camp.

The nights are burning hot. As soon as the boat is tied at the shore, millions of mosquitoes invade the lounges and the cabins. Then, in spite of the heat, we must put on gloves and wrap up face and neck heavily in kerchiefs and mufflers.

II

ARRIVAL AT FORT PIERRE CHOUTEAU. INDIANS—FESTIVAL

After a period of thirty-two days we see through the fog of the morning the immense American flag which floats over Fort Pierre Chouteau. The river is almost entirely closed by moving

sand bars and we advance slowly, guided by soundings. Suddenly the wind springs up, the mist is scattered and gives place to a charming landscape which we greet with three cheers, and a volley from our small artillery. Before us stands Fort Pierre with its fortifications and its white walls. All around rise hundreds of habitations of buffalo skin, some dazzlingly white, others striped and covered with fantastic and primitive paintings.

A few steps from us on the shore, a group of Indians in holiday costume, their faces painted red, yellow and white, as motionless as statues, leaning on their guns, examine us with a somber and restless air. Undoubtedly, they are asking themselves what this fire boat holds, which, last year, brought them cholera, and if this time it is not the bearer of some even more terrible scourge.

We have scarcely landed when some fifty young warriors and women swarm upon our deck, enter the lounge, the kitchens, everywhere in fact, examining, touching and tasting everything, and in spite of the remonstrances of our negro cooks, a huge kettle filled with boiled corn is emptied in an instant. The rest of the provisions would undoubtedly have suffered the same fate, if one of the chiefs had not arrived in time to disperse this band of hungry wolves with his whip.

Order is soon re-established, and a dozen savages well armed and uniformly dressed by the Company, play the part of guards and police officers in a dignified and worthy manner.

Fort Pierre is an immense square formed by four walls in the form of palisades five meters high and two hundred long. It is protected on the north, on the east, and on the southeast by three bastions armed with cannon.

The Company buildings are constructed parallel to the palisades. These are the houses of the employees, directors, clerks, interpreters, then immense storehouses filled with provisions, with merchandise and with furs, a smithy where they make axes, tomahawks, and knives for the Indians, a carpenter shop, a tin-smithy, and finally the sheds and stables and the powder magazine.

The governor of the fort receives us in the most gracious fashion, and has one of his wives prepare for us a most excellent dinner, in which are included buffalo tongues, pemmican or dried buffalo meat, and excellent corn bread.

Having lived for a number of years in this Sioux territory, he has adopted certain Indian customs and among others polygamy, not, he tells us, with an unworthy motive but simply as good policy and in the interests of his business. Surrounded by seven wives belonging to seven different tribes of the Dakota nation, he has thus the advantage of being assured the devotion of an army of brothers-in-law, uncles and cousins, which gives him a great influence and facilitates his relations with the Indians. We repeat this excuse for what it may be worth.

Wishing to celebrate the arrival of the steamboat, the governor gave a great feast, followed by a ball. The first consisted of a bottle of whisky, a pound of flour, and a little buffalo lard for each of the guests, composed of travellers, hunters, scouts, etc.

The fires are lighted in the middle of the fort. They make great piles of pancakes over which they pour copious libations. Two violin players, one a Canadian, the other Irish, perched on the top of a barrel, recall to me country weddings in my own land.

All take part in the dance: employees, hunters, half-breeds, negroes, mulattoes and Indians; and all these figures, white, yellow, black, copper colored and brick colored, lighted by the reddish flame and excited by a new distribution of whisky, have about them something really diabolical. Heads become hot, old quarrels reappear upon the carpet, fisticuffs rain from all sides, half-breeds reply with knife thrusts, the Indians brandish their tomahawks. They make threats with their guns for the next day, then they begin again their dance without noticing that all the women have escaped during the fight. Such are the intermissions in the festivals at Fort Chouteau.

The day after our arrival at the fort, I was in the Sioux Camp occupied with making a drawing of War-horse, a famous warrior whose unusual costume had struck me. The finished sketch circulated from hand to hand when suddenly my valiant model takes possession of it, dashes off on his horse and escapes at full gallop, leaving me more mystified because the young warriors and the girls were laughing uproariously, doubtless finding the joke excellent.

During my residence among the Sioux it was almost im-

and the fact that the medical profession is not organized on a basis of self-interest, but on a basis of the public interest, is a fact which should be recognized by the public. The medical profession is not a monopoly, and it should not be treated as such. The public has a right to expect that the medical profession will act in the best interests of the public, and that it will not use its position to the detriment of the public.

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possible for me to do the portrait of the warriors or even a sketch of their camp, because they imagined that once master of their likeness I would have the power to destroy them as easily as it. The Sioux, who had been cruelly decimated by cholera and small-pox, diseases brought into their midst by the white man, are excessively superstitious and believe that the Americans make use of diseases as a weapon to exterminate them.

The Indian cemetery is situated at one kilometer from Fort Pierre, on a plain where a great many wild horses graze. The Sioux never bury their dead. They roll them in their best woolen blankets and enclose them in a kind of bier sometimes made of cedar boards roughly hewn, though most often of branches of trees. Five poles driven into the ground support this kind of coffin, which is thus raised eight to ten feet above the ground and protected from dampness and wild beasts.

The relatives are careful to place by the side of the dead man a pipe, a little tobacco, a bow and some arrows, a few provisions, and various articles of which the dead may have need during his long trip into the other world.

But in time, the poles rot, the whole construction falls down and the wolves and the coyotes or little wolves, which prowl ceaselessly around these cemeteries, scatter afar the bones of the poor Indians.

Sometimes also the Sioux content themselves by enveloping the dead man in a blanket of scarlet wool, and suspending him in the high branches of a cedar or cottonwood tree. The Sioux have by way of religion only vague and ill-defined ideas. It is true that they generally pray to the great Spirit in moments of danger, and that they offer to it sacrifices of furs and sometimes also a feast of fat dog but they seem to believe that the good and the evil are equally happy in the other world.

Like all the Indian tribes, the Sioux regard women as very inferior beings which the great Spirit has given to them to put up their tents, saddle their horses, etc.

As for the old men they are even more mistreated. In times of abundance, they eat the left-overs, in days of famine, they die of hunger and are often abandoned in the desert when they are too weak to walk.

III

TRIP TO THE BAD LANDS OF WHITE RIVER

Two days after our arrival at Fort Pierre, while the good boat *Iowa* continued its course towards the upper Missouri, our little company went towards the bad lands of the White River, in spite of the remonstrances of the Indians who were watching our departure with suspicion and were seeking to discourage us by all means imaginable.

Our company was composed of two geologists, five Canadian travelers who were to be our muleteers and cooks, and finally an Indian guide and an interpreter.

Needless to say, we were all well-mounted and armed with guns and revolvers. We took with us in addition, three light carts loaded with provisions for five days, and several horses and mules running loose.

Our guide was one of those types such as one meets so much on the vast prairies of the West: a Canadian by birth, named Joseph la Violette, he was a little thick set man, quick and active as a monkey, tireless and full of energy, on the other hand, superstitious, boastful, lying, a drunkard, and quarrelsome as are all the rovers of the prairies, and he was even then carrying the marks still fresh of a terrible fight: a horribly mutilated nose and very black eyes.

We took with us in addition, as a second guide, an old Sioux, named Elk's Horn, a celebrated magician in his tribe, in which he yet enjoyed a certain authority.

The country which we had to cross the first two days is dead-ly monotonous: there are vast prairie stretches slightly rolling, soil impregnated with saltpeter, and covered with excellent grass, but not a tree, not even a bush for ten leagues around; nothing except cactus in bloom, and in the bottoms some milk weed (the Indians boil the buds of this plant with buffalo meat, which makes a delightful dish). We cross what the Westerners call a prairie dog town; these little animals, which however haven't any resemblance to a dog, live all together in a community, and their holes often cover a stretch of several kilometers; some well built paths lead from one habitation to another and at intervals, some

sentinels mount guard on little mounds; at the least sign of danger, they utter a small shrill cry, and the whole tribe goes into the holes in the twinkling of an eye. Prairie dogs are the size of a rabbit and their flesh is excellent. All travelers claim that they live in harmony with rattlesnakes and permit them to share their holes.

The third day after our departure from Fort Pierre, after ten hours of travel under a scorching sun, we camp near a spring bordered with wild bitters. We hasten to light a little fire, as much to cook our supper as to chase away clouds of mosquitoes which surround us and are drawing blood. Beside this first fire, we kindle another, kept alive with green grass and especially the bitters to make a smudge (expression for smoke), and our poor mounts whose piteous air I shall never forget, come to group themselves in a circle, their heads in the smoke, ears low, eyes closed, they await the fresh morning breeze which disperses and drives afar our common enemy.

This morning I see our Sioux guide, Elk's Horn, perched on the top of a hill which commands a view of our camp, and there, naked as our first father he executes a dance accompanied by gestures and strange contortions, then he commences a mournful and monotonous chant having for a refrain the barking of a coyote or prairie wolf, mimicked to deceive them. I understand that the object of his morning invocation is to charm and to attract the herds of buffalo, without doubt 50 leagues away; I have already said that Elk's Horn was a great magician among the Sioux.

His incantation is followed by a general clearing for action caused by a cloud of dust visible for about a mile. In the twinkling of an eye, the mules are ranged in a circle formed by our carts arranged in a circle, each is at his post and our old savage springs on his horse and gallops towards some horsemen who are advancing rapidly.

Then, following the custom of the prairies, Elk's Horn waves his hand from right to left, which means: who are you? The leader of the strangers, stopping his horse makes the sign of shaking hands, then he puts his right hand to his throat as if he wished to slash it (for recognition from afar the Cheyennes or Cut-Arms make with their hand the gesture of cutting their arms, the Arap-

ahoos or Jumpers take their nose between their thumb and index fingers; the Pawnees, or Wolfs imitate by means of two fingers placed on each side of their forehead the pointed ears of a wolf; the Crows by the movement of their arms seek to imitate the flight of a bird). We understand then that they belong to a tribe friendly to the Sioux, or Cut-Heads, and we give them the sign to advance.

We exchange hand-shakes with the young warriors and after having smoked the peace-pipe, we learn that they come from the Black Hills or Black Mountains, where in place of bears and elk, they have met a game much more formidable, that is to say, a party of Crow warriors who have taken several scalps and a good number of horses from them. All have their faces covered with mud or black paint as a sign of mourning, and we are obliged to give each warrior a gift to get out of their clutches.

After five days of travel toward the west, we approach some bad lands: accordingly enthusiasm is great among our little band.

Accompanying one of the geologists, I climb a hill about a hundred meters high and I enjoy the strangest and most incomprehensible view.

At the horizon, at the end of an immense plain and tinted rose by the reflection of the setting sun a city in ruins, appears to us, an immense city surrounded by walls and bulwarks, filled by a palace crowned with gigantic domes and monuments of the most fantastic and bizarre architecture. At intervals on a soil white as snow rise embattled chateaus of brick red, pyramids with their sharp-pointed summits topped with shapeless masses which seem to rock in the wind, a pillar of a hundred meters rises in the midst of this chaos of ruins like a gigantic light-house.

Our guide was triumphant, and spoke to us of musty marvels in this desert city, where is found, according to the savages, animals of every kind and even petrified men.

A little farther west, we notice a chain of mountains of a sombre blue: these are the Black Mountains, covered with thick forests of fir and cedar, and whose highest peak, covered with snow, is named by the Indians *Inyan Kara*. We are about 48 kilometers from them, and an immense plain lies between. Numerous streams of water arise in these mountains, charming valleys

are found there, inhabited during the summer by different tribes of the Dakota nation. Bears gray, black and brown, elk, antelopes, *the big horns* and the beaver abound there, and the rich prairies located at the foot of the mountains furnish the Indians with a quantity of roots of which they are very fond, among others—prairie potatoes, a white and mealy root, on which they live in the spring, when game is completely lacking.

One finds there also, in great quantity a little shrub known by the Indians under the name of *Kini-Kinik* and whose use is general among all the tribes to the west and to the east of the Rocky Mountains. Its leaf which resembles that of the box-wood tree, is dried and mixed with tobacco to which it gives a delightful perfume.

Like all the brooks which we have crossed for two days, that where we camp today is half dried up; its water is white and salty, and when evaporating, it leaves on the sand a thick layer of alkali which from afar gives the appearance of snow.

These salty waters contain a violent purgative and are drinkable only with a strong mixture of sugar and coffee. Our company starts at the break of day and after having followed for an hour the winding bed of the brook, and crossed not without difficulty, a chain of hills covered with cactus and buffalo grass, our guide leads us towards a charming oasis where we are to camp for two days.

We put up our tent in the shade of a cluster of cotton trees, and very near a little spring whose water is sweet and cold, and we stretch ourselves with happiness on a green-plot sprinkled with charming flowers, but occupied by dangerous inhabitants. During the night we discover a rattle-snake in our tent; attracted by the warmth he had lain down in our woolen blankets.

Leaving our camp guarded by two men, we set out to explore the bad lands, taking several pack-mules which we hope to load with petrifications.

We follow a buffalo path which leads us by a very steep slope to that strange city which we had seen the day before.

Passing between two pillars of an antideluvian architecture, and 200 feet high, we discover a vast amphitheater surrounded by embattled hills, jagged, and of a rich ochre color, a confused

mass of hillocks of red or white earth moulded without order and pell-mell on a soil so hard, that the feet of our horses leave no imprint. One would say that the soil had suddenly sunk away to a depth of 200 or 250 feet, leaving at intervals hills of all shapes and sizes, whose perpendicular walls, washed for centuries by heavy rains, slashed by deep snows, have taken the strangest and most inscrutable shapes.

The soil is formed here and there of a thick bed of petrified bones, sometimes in a state perfectly preserved, sometimes broken and reduced to dust.

At the foot of the hills lie petrified turtles of a brick color, several admirably preserved and weighing up to 150 pounds, but the greatest number broken into pieces; in the middle of these remains of *chelonina* we find a head of a rhinoceros equally petrified, and the jawbone of a dog or wolf of a special kind, furnished with all its teeth.

Here and there are heaps of teeth and scraps of broken jawbones; farther away, bones and vertebrae of the oreodon, the mastodon and the elephant, enveloped in a bed of clay or of a chalky flesh color.

How explain the origin of this vast sepulchre? How explain mounds of bones belonging to kinds of mammals which no longer exist, how were they thus piled up pell-mell with millions of shells and sea turtles in the midst of a desert 400 leagues from the ocean?

Towards noon, we discovered an immense lake surrounded by strange monuments, bulwarks, pyramids, and sharp-pointed bells which are reflected in its blue water.

But, the farther we went, the farther this beautiful lake seemed to stretch; it was only a mirage, common enough in the stretches of sand and known to the Indians as "lying waters."

This desert, 20 leagues long and 15 wide, is entirely empty of water and vegetation; one finds there no living being, not a bird, not even an insect; the heat there is stifling and the reflection of a burning sun on a soil white as snow produces a blindness, of short duration it is true, but most painful. At the south-east a narrow ribbon of verdure unfolds itself in the midst of an immense plain covered with strange knolls. It is White River

whose waters, made white by the alkali which covers the soil, have a bitter and disagreeable taste. A little farther south, between the Niobrara River, or Running Water, and the Platte River, is unfolded an immense desert 6700 square leagues in area, and covered with quick-sand. This sand, blown by hurricanes form a succession of knolls, which stretch generally from east to west and their elevation varies from 25 to 200 feet. Sometimes also, a hurricane blowing from the north, upsetting and raising everything on its passage, forms new mounds which take a new direction.

After having explored the bad lands for three days without having been able to discover the elephants, the buffaloes, and the petrified men of which they had spoken to us so much, we take our way back to Fort Pierre carrying with us a complete cargo of turtles and petrified bones. Eight days later we entered the fort.

IV

RETURN TO FORT PIERRE GREAT COUNCIL OF THE DAKOTA NATION

During our absence, the American agent had brought together around the fort a portion of the Dakota or Sioux nation to distribute to them the presents which the government at Washington sends to them each year.

The chiefs of the different tribes, clothed in their most brilliant costumes, harangued the young warriors, while about twenty of the adolescent braves, without any clothing except a thick covering of vermillion or ochre, made their horses wheel about and execute a thousand fantasies. The horses, generally painted yellow, red, and white, had their long tails decorated with feathers of brilliant colors.

An immense tent, made of five or six lodges of buffalo hides had been put up in the middle of the camp, the chiefs and the principal warriors formed a circle in the midst of which stood the agent, the commander of the fort, and his interpreters.

According to Indian custom, the greatest chief lights the peace pipe, a magnificent pipe of red stone, whose stem, a meter long, was ornamented with feathers of all colors.

After having offered several puffs of smoke to the great Manitou and to the evil spirit, he presents the pipe to the agent, who having drawn the three customary puffs, sends it around and announces to the Indians that he has been ordered by their grandfather (the President of the U. S.) to distribute to them the annual presents. Scarcely has his speech been interpreted when one of the bravest chiefs, Little Bear, arises and gives a long speech whose vehemence nothing could express. His face, his movements, his slightest gestures, all spoke with so much expression and energy, that, without understanding a single word of the Sioux language, it was easy for us to guess a part of his discourse.

He refused with indignation the gifts of the American government: "Are we dogs, that they throw to us the scraps they no longer want? If our grandfather is so rich and so powerful, let him send us a hundred boats loaded with merchandise and munitions for we need powder and bullets in great quantity, and what you give to us could be held in the hollow of our hand. Behold you have lived with the women of our tribe long enough; we want in our turn a thousand young girls, virgin and of white skin. As for me, I am returning to the Black Hills; keep your gifts for women and children."

Then, without giving to the whites the customary hand-clasp, Little Bear withdraws, majestically wrapped in his fur mantle.

Meanwhile the young men in charge of the kitchen, had brought an immense boiler filled with coffee, or rather hot water lightly colored and sweetened with molasses, a barrel of biscuits, and enough corn mush to fill the 200 Indians who took part in the feast.

All around the council tent, the wives and daughters of the chiefs squatted and ate with greediness the remains of the banquet in which etiquette did not permit them to take part.

An Indian clothed in a rich costume, throws himself at the feet of the agent: "Who are you, you who represent here the father of white men, of red men, and of black? Are you a supernatural spirit? Are you a god? Speak, tell me who you are. As

for me, I am only a poor Indian, but my heart is big; take my shirt of deer skin, give it to our grandfather."

He then takes off his garment and offers it to the agent, who presents him in exchange with a shirt of red wool and a coat with golden epaulets. Finally after four hours of parley, after having listened to numerous orators and smoked numberless pipes, a kind of herald-at-arms makes a speech, announces that the council is ended, and tells each one to return to his home.

The council had ended badly for us; the Indians had refused us permission to pass through their lands to reach the territory of the Black Feet, whose young warriors had been incensed and would massacre us without doubt, etc; they asked us then to return to the land of the whites. All this was but little re-assuring, but we had advanced too far to retreat and while waiting for our preparations to be completed, the time was gaily spent in loitering around the Indian camp and packing up the petrifications that we had brought from the bad lands.

I was invited to a banquet of dog (meat); to refuse would have been very impolite, and, moreover, I wanted to taste that meat so renowned in the country. Our old guide, Elk's Horn, who was giving the feast, made me sit down on a bear-skin and placed before me on a piece of *parfleche* (buffalo-hide very hard and from which the Indians make shields) to serve as a plate, a flank of wild dog which I found delicious. Its meat was tender and fat like a mutton-chop. A beaver tail and some pemmican (buffalo meat, first cut into slices and dried in the sun. Then they pound it, then mix with it buffalo fat and a small red fruit which resembles the currant; finally they put it in leather sacks and keep it for winter) completed the feast. (The Indians believe that they are being very polite to a guest by giving him their left-overs, which one is obliged to eat forthwith or to take with him. At the end of a meal, having the mouth full of whiskey, they pass the contents to the mouth of their neighbor, the greatest act of politeness and of good manners among the Sioux.)

The Indians, not having any written traditions, use hieroglyphic pictures to transmit their feats of arms to posterity.

The young warriors who are the most distinguished, group

around a buffalo skin carefully tanned and of a great whiteness and each reproduces in his turn his feats of valor by means of rude pictures more or less truthful. Needless to say, the artist always represents himself under the traits of a brilliant cavalier and gives himself the handsome role while his enemies, the Pawnees and the Crows, flee ignominiously. A corner of the picture, which I copied, represents a warrior, who after having killed his wife makes peace with his father-in-law and smokes the peace pipe.

V

DEPARTURE FROM FORT PIERRE FOR THE
ROCKY MOUNTAINS

The country which we have to cross being overrun in every direction by the war parties of enemy tribes, we have a thousand difficulties in procuring a guide; finally one of the numerous sons-in-law of the commander decides to accompany us. He is a great scalp hunter well versed in the art of stealing horses, in a word a bad rascal who would have murdered his father for a bottle of rum. They had named him "the crazy one" because of his eccentricities and they had been delighted to be rid of him.

At the end of July, nothing keeping us longer at Fort Pierre, we start on a Friday in spite of the superstition of the prairie men, the warnings and gloomy predictions of the Indians.

If our little company does not present a very imposing appearance, (there were only seven of us, two of whom were Indians) we have with us a walking arsenal in the person of our Indian guide who, armed with a rifle, two six-shooters, a cavalry sword, a bow and a quiver well filled with arrows, finally a long knife and a tomahawk,—walks ahead with a majesty truly comical.

Clothed in an infantry coat with an epaulet of a general on one side and an epaulet of red wool on the other, he wears neither shirt nor pants, and his legs are wrapped in gaiters of deer-skin whose embroidered fringe reaches down to the ground. Following the Indian custom, he has also covered his horse with bizarre pictures in red and yellow.

Then comes our hunter, a young Indian of the Cayusse tribe, perched and solidly fastened by means of leather thongs,

on a stubborn mule which makes frightful bounds. He precedes immediately our cart, which is followed by about ten horses and mules loose, and finally two half-breeds well-armed form the rear-guard.

Towards evening we meet a little company which is returning from the interior with a load of pelts, and we camp with them near a stream which flows in the midst of high grass.

A total absence of timber, which is explained by the extreme drought which lasts eight or nine months of the year, by the icy winter winds, and perhaps also by the fires which almost every year destroy the grass of the prairies.

On the other hand, we find a great deal of buffalo chips (dried buffalo dung which is found in great quantity in certain regions of the west) and this fuel, once well-lighted, gives a great deal of heat and especially enough smoke to drive away the mosquitoes.

When night came, our guide spent it wholly, crouched near our little fire, his gun on his knees, his sword out of its sheath and his pistols in his girdle. At dawn he utters cries and makes frightful contortions, and pretending to be dangerously sick, he leaves us after having promised to rejoin us in several days. His sickness is none other than terror which the Black Feet inspire in him.

We start out, having henceforth nothing more than our compass for guide.

We travel all day in a slightly rolling plain covered with blue grass (buffalo grass) and we arrive about two o'clock in a blistering heat, at the Cheyenne river where we camp.

From the top of a hill which rises above our camp, we see a charming valley, planted with cotton poplars, cherry trees and wild currant trees (or gooseberry bushes).

Towards evening we are rejoined by ten Sioux warriors, and we recognize among them our fierce orators of the council, Great Heart and Little Bear. Their hostile attitude of two days before could not hold before the fragrance which was escaping from our pots, and they came without ceremony to establish themselves in our camp and be invited to supper.

An Indian can easily live three or four days on air, but

also, when he falls on a good repast, what he can eat has a touch of the marvelous, meat, biscuits, coffee, all disappear with speed into his stomach of India-rubber. When he is no longer hungry, he eats for the next day, then he crams himself for the day after; finally, being a prudent man, he fills, not his pockets, but his shirt, if he has any on, or any other part of his clothing, and shuts up in there the remains of the feast.

Great Heart had made of his shirt a veritable larder, and it enclosed, in five or six little parcels carefully tied, some salted beef, ground coffee, tea, sugar, bacon, etc.

To end the feast, it was necessary to give to each of them a little tobacco, powder and bullets.

Little Bear after having smoked a prodigious number of peace pipes becomes communicative and offers to accompany us with his group to Fort Union, an offer which makes us tremble; for they would have eaten up all of our provisions in less than two days.

As soon as it is four o'clock in the morning we noiselessly quit our camp to which we give the name of hunger camp; our gluttonous friends are plunged in a deep sleep and we are delighted to be rid of them.

Nothing remarkable today. Always the monotonous prairie, grass short and already dry, deep paths followed only by the buffaloes in their travels. At intervals, skulls and dry bones, indicating how numberless these animals were formerly.

Towards ten o'clock we stop near a muddy hole whose water is so putrified that our mules refuse to drink it.

We breakfast in haste and leave this horrible shallow water surrounded by a cloud of mosquitoes which makes us all bloody.

A terrible storm forces us to stop; our mules are fastened to the cart, and we lie down in the high grass under a beating rain.

Sometimes the wind lifts our wagon, very heavy clouds follow one another for two hours; we are sometimes deluged by a driving rain, at other times struck by a hail hard as little pebbles.

We stop this morning in a rich valley where flows a little river called by trappers Moreau river.

Its brink is frequented by multitudes of pheasants and prai-

rie chickens; and we were looking forward with pleasure to resting a day in this charming valley, when the distant sound of a musket-shot recalled to us that we were henceforth in enemy country and we decided to seek a spot less frequented by Indians, in which to spend the night.

Crossing a chain of hills slightly elevated and separated by numerous ravines we chanced to encamp in a deep defile protecting us well in building a fire and making a good guard all night.

The next day we reach the Grand river, our cart and pack-mules get stuck in a marshy shoal planted with willows intertwined with one another.

Sunk in the mud up to our knees and tormented by the clouds of mosquitoes, we end by opening a passage in it after four hours of work and we camp on a little hill overlooking the river.

The bed of this stream of water is strewn with a quantity of round stones easy to break and containing a great variety of shells and petrified snails in a perfectly preserved state.

We travel all the following day over an immense plain, on a soil sometimes arid, at other times covered with buffalo grass and cactus in bloom.

One would call it a dead calm on the ocean and one would search vainly along the horizon for a bush or a clump of grass higher than the others.

We camp in a swampy low stretch of ground and we spend a horrible night in the midst of a thick cloud of mosquitoes.

Not content with drinking our blood, they flutter around us by the millions and fill our ears with their horrible buzzing.

It is an infernal concert which is joined by the howls of a numerous pack of wolves which are trying to approach our mules.

Towards midnight, our mules tormented by the mosquitoes and frightened by the wolves, tear up their stakes and disappear into the prairie, without it being possible to follow them, so thick is the darkness.

As soon as it is light, two of our men set out to find the mules, and the day is spent in the greatest uneasiness.

Towards evening we see a cloud of dust along the horizon and soon we distinguish the mules and horses led by one of our men who had found them at our camp of the day before.

Pursued, without doubt, by the wolves, they had run the whole night, and had run a distance of 40 kilometers.

One of our travelers is still missing, a half-breed, who has without doubt lost his way; we light a great fire of buffalo chips, we fire shots, at the risk of attracting the attention of Indians; the night passes thus without his arrival.

The next day, we scour the country in every way to find him, and after three days of fruitless search, our provisions beginning to decrease, we decide to continue on our way. Before leaving that horrible hole which we surname "the Devil's Camp", we attach an old shirt like a flag to the end of a long pole and nail on it a letter indicating to the frightened half-breed the direction which we are to take.

We are sad-hearted for we all liked our poor companion, the most gay and most active of the band, a teaser, and a tireless story-teller who amused everybody in camp. Our men begin to get discouraged and attribute our bad luck to the leader of our little expedition who had made us depart on a Friday.

For three days we travel on the prairie continually, crossing several branches of the Cannon Ball river where we find some petrified pieces.

The country becomes more uneven. We see afar hills with sides worn to a peak, some perfectly square, others resembling pyramids.

Streams of water also become more frequent, and what interests us keenly, our hunter, absent for a day, has finally sighted buffaloes and promises us fresh meat for the next day.

We spend the entire day camped near the Heart river where we find wild plums and cherries in abundance. Towards evening our Cayusse Indian returns to camp with two horses loaded with venison and our supper is of buffalo ribs roasted before the fire, humps, tongues and fillets of the same animal. Our hunter also makes me taste a delicious dish which he calls buffalo eggs, fried in buffalo marrow, and seasoned with wild fruit; the tongue of the buffalo takes the place of bread for us.

I notice that our men, after having devoured an enormous amount of meat and emptied a huge pot full of marrow broth, sleep deeply and that at the end of two hours they awake for a

second repast of meat as abundant as the first. Towards midnight they arise again to eat a piece of hump which does not keep them from devouring, like as many ogres, a breakfast served at four o'clock in the morning.

We had to cross, the following day, several little brooks embanked in deep and narrow valleys, and adorned with charming groups of gooseberry bushes and wild cherries.

The gooseberries are delicious: the yellow are especially sweet and have an exquisite taste; as for the cherries, they are scarcely edible.

These little valleys are frequented only by the bears who come there to eat the fruit of which they are very fond. The evening of the same day, having accompanied our hunter to the watch and having posted myself with him in a dense thicket, where we had discovered a path frequented by the bears, I was not slow, before an hour had passed, to hear a loud noise in the bush, and thirty steps from us, we see a black bear which is slowly advancing toward a group of gooseberry bushes and cherry trees. He arises on his hind paws, seizes a branch of a cherry tree, lowers it to within the reach of his teeth, remains motionless a few moments, looking attentively in all direction, then he begins to eat the cherries, with a greediness most amusing. Suddenly he stops, fixing a scrutinizing gaze all around him, and standing motionless, without dropping the branch which he holds in his arms, he listens, then reassured without doubt, he starts to work again, varying, as a shrewd connoisseur, cherries with gooseberries, plums with raspberries. He had come still nearer, and is presenting his side to us when we both fire; the bear utters a terrible grunt, makes a leap and falls heavily backwards. The Indian finishes him with a revolver shot and returns to camp to get a pack-horse to carry a part of the meat, the hide, and the fat which makes excellent frying.

Towards noon, after having climbed a small mountain formed of a dry and rocky soil, we discover 2,000 feet below us a narrow valley, whose sides are formed of walls of earth, yellow or red, inclined in a terrace and decorated here and there by clusters of grass and stunted cedars suspended above the chasm. A little rivulet, shaded by willows, cotton-trees in gay foliage, winds in

a thousand zig-zags; it is a lovely oasis, but the descent to it is difficult and dangerous; our cart is lowered to it by means of ropes, the mules roll and climb down like us from one terrace to another, and finally, after two hours of painful toil, we all reach the bottom of the valley, our legs and hands skinned, and worn out with fatigue.

But this charming valley is only a horrible haunt for mosquitoes of the worst kind who swarm in the high grass; we smoke (make smudges for) our mules, we make smudges for ourselves, and the evening and the night pass thus, between the acrid smoke of wild grass and that of our pipes without our being able to close our eyes.

At the approach of the bad lands of the Little Missouri, the appearance of the country becomes more primitive. Hills of odd shape and of a yellow or red color, appear against a sky of limpid blue, the land more rocky, is covered with cactus whose sharp points become attached to the legs of our horses and retard our journey. We also kill several rattlesnakes which we preserve in alcohol; the largest measured one meter and 20 centimeters and its tail had nine rings.

After having crossed several little thickets of cotton-wood and cedars, we arrived at night in the midst of a labyrinth of mounds, ravines, and of rocks of an aspect so fearful that we decided to camp until day.

The night was sad, having found neither water nor wood, and not a blade of grass for our poor mules. Moreover a pack of wolves roamed all night around our camp, and stole from us a sack of dried meat. Until daylight there was a horrible serenade, with an accompaniment of pistol shots and howls of the wounded.

At daylight, we climb a high hill and discover finally the valley of the Little Missouri of the *Gros Ventres* (Big Bellies), a river which takes its name from the tribe of Minitares or Big Bellies who live near its mouth. Formerly they were a part of the nation of the Crows, but they had separated from it, and had made for themselves, like the Mandanes and the Rees, huts of branches and willows interlaced and covered with earth, and renouncing the adventurous and nomadic life of their fathers,

they cultivate corn and some vegetables in the fertile lands which border the Missouri.

We have here again under our eyes a fantastic country.

A confusion of buttes with the most vexatious shapes are bordered with deep precipices which open a frightful mouth, pyramids of red and calcinated earth whose sharp point is topped with enormous rocks which seem to stay there only by a miracle of equilibrium.

Underneath, the soil, blackened and calcinated as if fire had passed there, is cracked every way and undermined by deep caverns and threatens to sink under the weight of our mules.

Our cart, which we lower by means of ropes, ends by falling between two points (needles) of calcinated earth and remains there hanging and broken into pieces.

Carrying with great labor the baggage and provisions on our backs, we end by climbing to the bottom of the ravine where we camp towards noon.

We have neither drunk nor eaten since the day before at five in the morning and we have furthermore spent two nights without closing our eyes, so we spend the rest of the day eating and sleeping, very certain that the Indians will not know where to find us.

We cross the Little Missouri. After a painful march of two hours across the bad lands to which it gives its name, we reach the top of a plateau and we see before us an immense plain cut at the north by a blue line which indicates to us the nearness of the Missouri.

In the middle of the prairie which we crossed today is a mound formed by thousands of elks' horns, heaped up upon one another and forming a kind of pyramid 7 meters high and about a dozen wide.

As we discover there not one head it is evident that this enormous pile is formed of horns annually shed by the elks in a period when they were innumerable, a period very remote, for the most aged Indians have no tradition on this subject. Travelers also say that toward the fountain-head of the Yellowstone river, the Crow Indians have constructed a little fort by means of elks' horns piled one on top of the other.

Finally twenty-six days after our departure from Fort Pierre, we discover the great river and we camp at a point formed by the junction of the Yellowstone with the Missouri, only three leagues from Fort Union.

We unsuccessfully try to cross the river, very deep at its mouth and filled with banks of shifting sand; our provisions are almost gone; for three days, having neither flour nor biscuit any longer, meat dried in the sun is our only food.

Our best swimmer, a vigorous Red river half-breed, clothed only in a shirt and with his gun solidly fastened on his head, consents to go get us a boat at Ft. Union. He crosses the Yellowstone by swimming and we see him disappear into a dense thicket of willows.

Some very recent fires and bones of buffaloes newly dissected show us the nearness of Indians and we keep close watch the whole night, which is easy for us more especially as wolves and mosquitoes do not give us an instant of rest.

This morning an old Crow chief accompanied by several warriors comes to invite himself to breakfast. After having drunk each a pint of coffee and smoked several pipes, they invite us to visit their camp, situated a kilometer away on a little hill which overlooks the river.

The camp is composed of five or six conical lodges of buffalo skin, remarkable for their whiteness and cleanness and covered with strange pictures in red and yellow, representing warriors smoking a pipe, horses, deer, and dogs.

Numerous scalps freshly scalped, are hung at the end of long poles. Beside each tent a sort of tripod supports quivers, shields of buffalo leather, and spears ornamented with feathers of brilliant colors. Some young warriors with features strongly accentuated, aquiline noses, and Herculean forms, but hideously smeared in black and white are busy flinging arrows into a bowl while one throws two into the air or rolls them on a kind of alley smooth as a bowling-green.

The chief makes us sit on some skins of bears and buffaloes which ornament the interior of his lodge, and begins a long conversation with the interpreter, while I remain exposed to the curiosity of the young people, women and children. The young

girls grow so bold as to search in my pockets and to draw out my knife, my pencils, and my notebook, which goes from hand to hand and seems to amuse those ladies much.

Finally the boldest and the most curious, a beautiful girl with very soft eyes and wonderful teeth, seeing my long beard, wants to assure herself whether I am not shaggy like a bear, and aided by her companions, tries to make of my person an examination too minute. I was about to abandon a part of my clothing in the hands of these ladies when my friend, the Crow chief, draws me from embarrassment by presenting me with the peace pipe, and the young girls return my notebook but in what a state, alas! The white pages as well as the spaces between each line have been covered with scribbling such as is done in our homes by children five or six years old. I was singularly vexed and the mocking laughter of the young warriors exasperated me to such an extent that I resolved to avenge myself and to astonish the whole tribe. Placing a little powder in the hand of the beautiful curious one, I put it on fire by means of a magnifying glass which I habitually use to light my pipe, which frightened them and made them take flight like a herd of kids. But they soon returned, and I was obliged to repeat the experience several times to the great amusement of the entire tribe.

Towards evening, several shots and the joyous songs of the Canadian boatmen announced to us the arrival of the boat which came to deliver us. The crew was composed of six vigorous Canadians with complexions browned by the sun, and long hair falling on their shoulders.

After several unavailing attempts, we finally succeeded in making our mules enter the river. Excited by our shrill cries, by the stones that we threw at them, and by many shots fired above their heads, they let themselves be carried away by the current, while we followed them in the boat and directed them by blows of the oars.

Two hours afterwards we reached Fort Union where we found our poor half-breed in bed with a burning fever, and truly unrecognizable, his face was only a mass of poisoned mosquito bites and his eyelids were enflamed to the point that he could not open his eyes. After having crossed the Yellowstone river,

he had gotten into a swamp where he sank up to his shoulders in the midst of reeds and high grass which entangled his legs and often stopped him. Finally he got away from it at night-fall, but followed by a numerous pack of wolves, he had only time to climb into the branches of a willow where he remained crouched until daylight, only a few inches from his hungry enemies whose eyes shone in the darkness like so many lights. The next day he crossed the Missouri river by swimming but so exhausted that he suffered the greatest misery to gain the fort.

Fort Union, a quadrilateral figure of wood, about 75 meters on a side, is situated on the left bank of the Missouri above the conflux of the Yellowstone, in the midst of a charming prairie, shut in to the east by bad lands similar to those of the White river, but of much less considerable extent.

The hills here are formed of soft stones converted back to earth, and of burnt clay. Their red color gives them from afar the appearance of brick monuments in ruin. One found there also layers of a kind of slate which seems to have been exposed to fire.

JOURNAL OF DR. ELIAS J. MARSH

ACCOUNT OF A STEAMBOAT TRIP ON THE MISSOURI RIVER,
MAY-AUGUST, 1859

May 31.

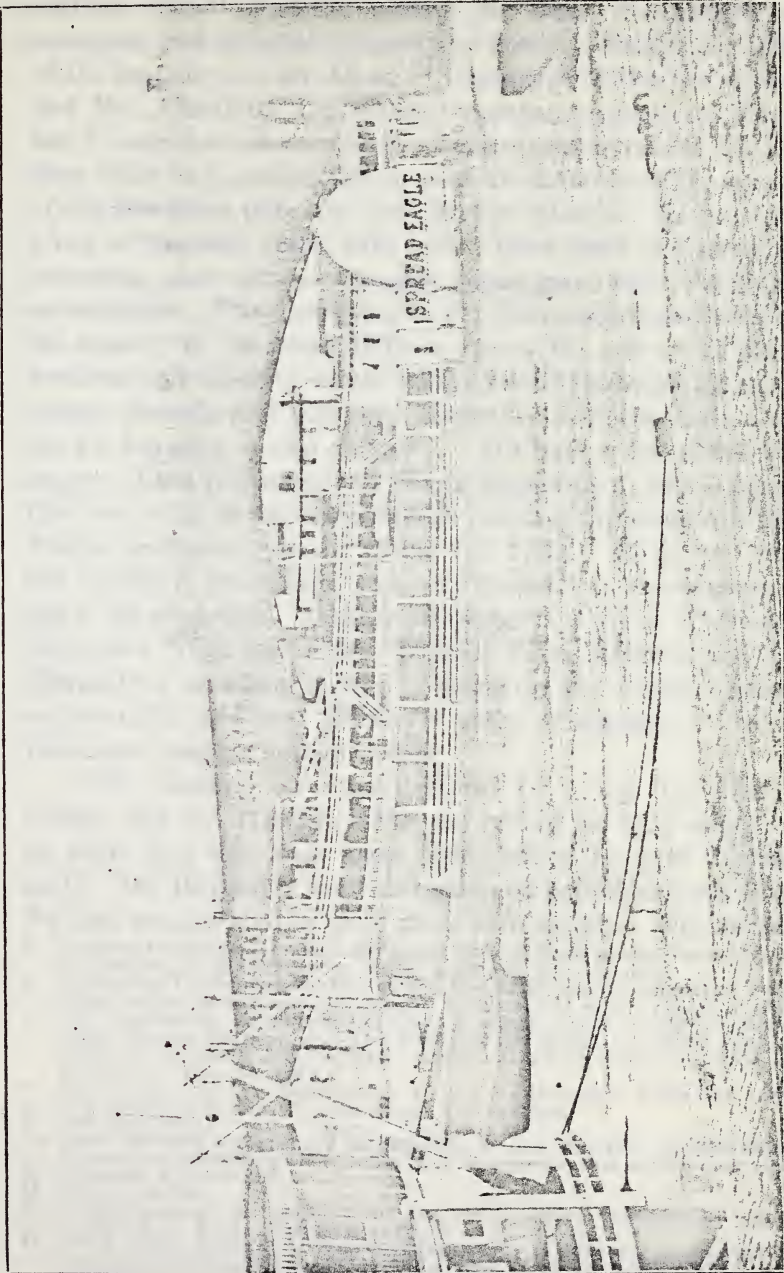
We started from St. Louis on Saturday, May 28, just before twelve o'clock, and a salute of two cannons was given to announce our departure. I found Dr. Billingslea¹ on the steamer to see me off, and I afterward heard Dr. Kennard² had also been to see me. Dr. B. left soon and then Dr. Gilfillan³ and Dr. Chapin⁴ came and talked to me from a neighboring boat until we were fairly off, and at the last moment waved their hats for good-bye. About five miles up the river, we stopped and took on four hundred kegs of powder. There is a metal lined magazine in the front of the boat intended for this purpose. We passed St. Charles about eight-thirty o'clock in the evening, after entering the Missouri about three o'clock; all about St. Louis the line between the Mississippi and Missouri is very distinctly marked by the muddiness of this latter river, and after entering the Missouri, no more clear water is seen except at the mouths of some of the tributaries. I retired to bed about ten o'clock, and at eleven the boat was brought to shore for the night, where a full supply of wood was procured. The next morning I was awakened about five o'clock by the motion of the boat, as my room is nearly in a line with the wheel, so that I have the full benefit of every jar. We had breakfast about seven o'clock, and afterwards I passed most of the morning in preparing and sorting my medicines and having a shelf fixed in my stateroom to place them on. I am very fortunate in having a room to myself so far, whereas most of the other rooms are occupied by two passengers. To-day the scenery was a little finer and more hilly, and the day was beautiful but warm. At about three we stopped for fifteen minutes to wood, and about ten o'clock came to a good wood pile where we stopped for the night. Yesterday the scenery was much the same, and

¹ Dr. Uriah H. Billingslea, member St. Louis Medical Society and secretary in 1860.

² Dr. Thomas Kennard, b. at Elmwood, Kent Co., Md., June 1, 1834; began practice of medicine at St. Louis, Jan., 1858; made trip up Missouri River as surgeon for American Fur Company, 1858; d. Nov. 9, 1879.

³ Dr. William Gilfillan, Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh; once Senior Resident Physician and Surgeon, Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh.

⁴ Not identified.



A "SPREAD EAGLE" OF A LATER DAY

nothing special occurred during the day. We have a quite numerous and pleasant company on board. Besides the officers of the boat there is Mr. Chas. P. Chouteau⁵ of the Fur Company and Mr. Alexander Culbertson,⁶ another member of the firm. Mr. C. says he has been in the Indian country about Ft. Union since 1832; he is now an elderly man. He married an Inuian squaw of the Blackfoot tribe, but now lives in Illinois. He has his son, a boy of fourteen years, with him. Then there is a government surveying party of about twenty young men, with Dr. Hayden⁷ as naturalist. They are going to Ft. Pierre and then strike across the country to the Black Hills to survey the sources of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers.⁸ They are all quite young men and mostly sociable and pleasant. Major ———,⁹ the Indian agent for Ft. Laramie, is also on board. We have a few pleasant passengers: Lord Grosvenor,¹⁰ a young Englishman, who is going up the river with us and then intends crossing the mountains to the Pacific, and goes home by China and India. He is very young, but entirely a gentleman, and very pleasant in conversation and not at all assuming. Another passenger is a young Williamson¹¹ from New York and a Mr. Weber¹² from Missouri and a Mr. Piersol,¹³ a taxidermist who is going to the Rocky Mountains as naturalist to Lieut. Mullins¹⁴ party of engineers. No other passengers require special notice.

This morning we were detained by a fog 'till after five o'clock, and Dr. Hayden, while the rest of us were asleep, went on shore and shot four small birds which he gave Piersol to stuff. Dr. Hayden is very energetic and active, and the moment the boat reaches land he is on shore with his gun. The current is

⁵ Charles Pierre Chouteau, b. St. Louis, Dec. 2, 1819; son of Pierre Chouteau Jr.; active in fur trade for many years; d. Aug. 3, 1895.

⁶ Alexander Culbertson, b. Pa., 1809; entered service of American Fur Co., 1829; active in fur trade on Upper Missouri for many years; d. 1879.

⁷ Dr. Ferdinand Vandever Hayden, b. Mass., Sept. 7, 1829; graduated from Oberlin College, 1850 and from Albany Medical College, 1853; early explorer of South Dakota Bad Lands; author of many scientific publications; d. Dec. 22, 1887.

⁸ See Report on the Exploration of the Yellowstone River-Raynolds in Senate Ex. Doc. No. 77, 40th Cong., 1st Session.

⁹ Not identified.

¹⁰ Lord Richard Grosvenor, second son of the Marquis of Westminster. An article dealing with his trip will appear in this publication soon.

¹¹ Richard Williamson.

¹² Not identified.

¹³ John Pearsall, an employe of the Smithsonian Institution, who was attached to Lieut. Mullan's party.

¹⁴ Lieut. John Mullan, b. Va.; graduated U. S. Military Academy, 1848; sent to northwest to build military road from Ft. Walla Walla on the Columbia to Ft. Benton on the Missouri.

very strong in the river and washes strongly along the bank. It is difficult to describe the current of the Missouri, and to understand it, it is necessary to see it. The channel of the river, as you have probably heard, varies its position from year to year, as the banks wash away on one side and sand bars form on the other, or islands in the middle of the river. We frequently pass fields which were planted last season, and this year are falling into the river.¹⁵ To-day, June 1st, we saw a tree which was probably felled last winter, and now the stump is gone, and the lower half of the tree extends over the bank about fifteen feet. Mr. Chouteau says that about 50,000 buffalo robes are brought down the river every spring, and this is about one-tenth of what are killed yearly. At this rate one would imagine they could not last very long.

June 1

Today we started about daylight, though I did not awake 'till after six o'clock. Just after breakfast we landed to wood and Dr. Hayden and Piersol each procured a bird, but I have not yet got a gun ready, though I have the promise of one. Just after breakfast we had a short thunder shower, and the sun is not yet out, though it is very pleasant. Yesterday it was intensely hot, so that now we are glad to have an overcast sky. Among the passengers, I forgot to mention the name of Mr. Wimar,¹⁶ a young German artist of St. Louis. He is very fond of Indian scenes and takes these opportunities for observing and taking sketches. He went up last year also. I saw some of his pictures in St. Louis, and they seemed to me to be very well done. We passed a little prairie land today but otherwise most of the country consisted of the low plains overgrown with cottonwood. We stopped twice for a few moments, to get coal and wood, and though Dr. H., Piersol and myself went ashore, only Dr. H. procured a single bird. After dinner I read a little of *What Will He Do With It*¹⁷

¹⁵ Condition remains unchanged.

¹⁶ Charles Ferdinand Wimar, or Carl Wimar, as he preferred to use, was an artist of St. Louis. He was born at Siegburg, Germany, Febr. 19, 1828; died at St. Louis, Nov. 28, 1862. Beginning in 1838 he spent three seasons in the hostile Indian country in the Upper Missouri River region studying the natives. He secured photographic equipment, and in addition to his numerous studies made in oil, crayon and pencil, he obtained a quantity of photographic memoranda which was very helpful to him in his later work. See *Carl Wimar* by William Romaine Hodges, Galveston Texas. Published by Charles Reymershoffer, 1908.

¹⁷ By Edward Bulwer Lytton under the pen name Pisistratus Caxton.

and took a good nap, and after tea I sat on the upper deck talking to Captain La Barge¹⁸ for more than an hour, and then came down and played cards, a game we used to call "Bah"¹⁹ but here called "Muggins," and then went to bed about eleven o'clock.

June 2

We were off early this morning, and I was called up about five o'clock to see a man who was taken sick, and then I concluded it was too late to go to bed again, so I promenaded on the upper deck 'till breakfast time. I generally spend the morning on deck, and always the evening until it becomes dark. We are not in the cabin at all except to meals and in the evening, for we sit to talk or read on the lower deck, or rather the second deck. There was a little fog on the river, but the wind soon blew it away, and we had delightful weather, though rather hot. We passed several towns, at one of which, Richfield, we stopped this morning, and several of us went on shore for a few minutes. About four o'clock we stopped at Kansas City to take on a guide²⁰ for the exploring party. This city is in Missouri, and just after it, we passed the mouth of the Kansas River, where the territory of Kansas commences. We travelled 'till about eight o'clock, when we stopped for the night and took on wood. Kansas City has more the appearance of a business place than anything since we left St. Louis, but the country around it is not much settled or cultivated. I took a good nap this afternoon and read considerable in *What Will He Do With It*. In the evening I went ashore and caught some fire-flies, but they seem to be of the same species as those I have been accustomed to, and Dr. Hayden procured some land shells. No other specimens were procured by any of us to-day.

June 5

During the last two days I have been very much occupied, and have neglected to keep my journal, but will now go over the principal occurrences. We arrived at Fort Leavenworth in the

¹⁸ Captain John B. La Barge, who died at the wheel while making a steamboat landing at Bismarck in 1885; he was a brother of Captain Joseph La Barge whose story is told by Chittenden in *History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River*.

¹⁹ A simple card game whose object is to get rid of one's cards.

²⁰ Not identified.

morning, and remained about two hours taking on passengers, Lieut. Maynadier ²¹ and Dr. Hines,²² about thirty-five mules, and a quantity of freight, so that now we are deeply laden. Several of us went ashore to shoot, and I shot three birds and several others were obtained.

The same day we took on Mr. Bridger,²³ an old trapper of experience, as a guide to the surveying party. In the afternoon, we stopped to wood, and I shot another bird, which I skinned the same afternoon. On the 4th we arrived at St. Joseph's in the morning, where we stopped for some time, and we almost all went on shore to procure some articles forgotten at St. Louis. St. Joseph's is considered the finest town on the river, but has been built up within a few years, so that most of the streets are not graded, and though there are some good stores, it does not have a comfortable appearance. I afterwards skinned the three birds shot yesterday. I think I am improving at this business and soon will succeed in making good specimens, though most of the birds are not in good plumage at this time of year. I took a nap this afternoon, so that with this and looking at the scenery, the day passes very pleasantly and quickly. In passing along to-day, we saw two ragged girls come out of a cottage in the midst of the wilderness to draw water from the river, and one of them had quite large hoops, a decided proof that we are not yet beyond civilization. Our evenings are passed by sitting or walking on the deck till dark, and then we play "Muggins," about ten around the table, so that it makes a pleasant game. After playing to-night I had a long talk with Mr. Bridger, who was one of the partners of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company which started many years ago in opposition to Astor's American Fur Co. He is now an old man, and one of the most experienced guides in the western plains and mountains. He was with the Utah army²⁴ two years ago, and seems thoroughly acquainted with all the rivers and

²¹ Lieut. Henry Eveleth Maynadier, b. Va.; graduated U. S. Military Academy, 1847; served at Forts Snelling and Ridgely, Minn., and in the Utah Expedition; chief assistant to Capt. Reynolds, 1859-60; Brevet Major General, 1865, for distinguished service on the frontier while operating against hostile Indians; d. Dec. 3, 1868.

²² Dr. M. C. Hines.

²³ James Bridger, 1804-1881, often called the ablest hunter, mountaineer and guide of the West.

²⁴ Utah Expedition against the Mormons.

mountain passes. He spoke of Bonneville²⁵ and other trappers. In inquiring about various animals both he and Culbertson say they have always supposed the *Cross Fox*²⁶ to be so called as a cross-breed between the gray and red foxes, and that they are not acquainted with any black cross on the fur between the shoulders, which Audubon²⁷ and Baird²⁸ describe, and from which they derive the name *Vulpes decupatus*, *Cross fox*. In speaking of buffaloes, Bridger says that in all his life he has only once met with *one white buffalo*²⁹ alive, though he has seen the skins of others. The "silk" and "beaver" buffalo robes are the same, and the hair is long or short according to the season. At St. Joseph's we took on Captain Reynolds,³⁰ the chief of the surveying party, and Col. Vaughan,³¹ Agent for the Blackfeet Indians, and Maj. Schoonover³² for the Sioux and Crows. I retired at about twelve o'clock and when I got up this morning at a little before seven, I found the boat fast on a sand bar. This is of frequent occurrence of the Missouri steamers, and they always carry appropriate tackle. By means of spars and ropes pulled by steam, they raise and shove the boat into deeper water. It was nearly three hours before we were off again, and went finely on 'till about twelve o'clock. Before this I was told we passed a small Indian village, but I did not see it, for I was engaged most of the morning in fixing some medicines and in arranging my rooms where things had got into confusion. We passed the mouth of the Big Nemaha River early in the morning, which is the northern boundary of Kansas. Between the Big and Little Nemaha Rivers is a reserve for the half breed Indians, and about twelve o'clock we stopped at a village of the Iowa Indian half-breeds. Here we took on some wood and an interpreter³³ for one of the Indian agents, who (the Indian, not

²⁵ Benjamin L. E. Bonneville.

²⁶ This was probably the cross variety of the long tailed prairie fox.

²⁷ John J. Audubon.

²⁸ Spencer F. Baird.

²⁹ The white robe was a prized possession of the traders and natives.

³⁰ William Franklin Reynolds, b. Ohio; graduated from U. S. Military Academy, 1839; captain, Topographical Engineers; surveyed Yellowstone River Region, 1859-60; Brevet Brig. Gen. for service in Civil War; d. Oct. 8, 1894.

³¹ Col. Alfred J. Vaughan, Indian Agent at Fort Benton

³² Not identified further.

³³ Various spelled. Zephyr Recontre is quite common. In government records Zephier Rencontre is generally used. The surname is often given as Recontre. He was a prominent interpreter in the South Dakota region. According to J. A. Hosmer, he always began his interpretations, "He says, says he, that he says."

the agent) is quite a fine looking old man with long black hair intermixed with gray. Their village seems very respectable and pleasant, and the houses are small frame ones painted white, like an ordinary village. It is nearly half a mile from the river, so we did not go to it, but many of the inhabitants, male and female, came to see us. We all went ashore and shook hands with several, and Culbertson talked French and Indian to them. There were a number of women, some young and tolerably good looking, though not handsome, and dressed like ordinary white females, some in white muslin, some in ordinary calicos. There was one warrior on horseback with a long lance, ornamented with four tails of otter skin, who said he was going to kill a Pawnee to-morrow, and one or two others were on horseback but unarmed. The women and some of the men came on board on the invitation of Culbertson and sat down in the cabin. They all acted quietly and modestly. One of the young men gave the warrior a piece of tobacco, but the Indian beckoned to him afterwards and whispered "whiskey." Though unable to learn much English, this word they soon learn, both the meaning and the pronunciation. The name of the interpreter we took on board is Zephyr Rencontre. As we started, the warrior started his horse and galloped along the shore brandishing his lance, for our amusement, I suppose. From his manner, I should judge he was a braggart.

To-day was Sunday, which we observe as a body by neither playing cards nor shooting, and individually of course as each pleases.

June 7

Yesterday nothing of importance occurred. We stopped twice to wood but I did not get any birds. In the evening we passed the mouth of the Platte River, and we have now entered on the prairie country. The hills slope up a little distance from the river, and are mostly covered with grass without timber. In the afternoon we broke our rudder on a sand bar and were detained about half an hour in consequence. This morning we started off early, and about eleven o'clock stopped at Omaha City. Here we saw a number of Pawnee Indians, and several of the men and women came on board the boat. The men were dressed in little more than a blanket, and though some were good-looking, they

were painted horribly with a vermilion color, and many had feathers stuck on their heads. One woman carried a papoose on her back, the first I have seen. On shore several Indian boys shot with their bows and arrows at five-pences which the men set up, and won most all. The men who came on board could ask for whiskey and five cents.

In the afternoon we passed Florence,³⁴ a Mormon settlement, and here we saw a camp of them just preparing to set out for Salt Lake City. Their tents looked well and they had a number of oxen and wagons. Here also we found the *Chippewa* waiting for us, and we shall now proceed together. This evening we stopped together, and put on the *Chippewa* about thirty tons of our freight. Yesterday for the first time we were troubled with mosquitoes, and in the night they annoyed us in the cabin, but did not make their way into the staterooms while we slept. To-day they are also somewhat troublesome.

June 10

So little has happened 'till to-day that I have not kept my journal regularly. The scenery of the country has changed somewhat. The bluffs in many parts approach the river and are no longer covered with trees, but prairie land extends all the way from the river as far as we can see, so that we have a more extended and generally a finer view of the country than before. We passed several bluffs where both the cliff and the bank swallow had nests, and in one place, both on the same bluff. We have also passed several traces of beavers on the shore, several large trees gnawed through by them and lying fallen. I was told one was seen and shot at, but I did not see it. Yesterday we came to a broad and bad part of the river, where we were delayed for some time by shoal water, and then found the river since last year had changed its channel to the opposite side of an island, so we had to return and change our course also. Early this morning before I was out of bed we stopped at Sioux City, which is the last town of any importance on the river, and now as we have come to a wilder part of the country, I will try to keep a more regular journal, though it will not be very interesting 'till

³⁴ Near Omaha, Nebr.

after we reach Fort Randall.³⁵ To-day we came to one or two difficult places of the river, and had to spar the boat over a sand bar, and this evening we stopped earlier than usual because we could get no further, and the Captain took the yawl to sound for the channel. To-day for the first time we saw some young ducks, an old one with two young ones. We also saw several pigeons in the woods, and we have seen previously other old ducks along the river.

June 11

We started off early this morning, and without much difficulty found the channel, but in two or three other places we found shallow water and a wide river, but proceeded without long detention. We landed this morning to wood, and I went shooting, and had to run a long distance through the bushes to prevent being left, so that I felt very much exhausted on reaching the boat, more so than I desire to do again. I procured two birds. We passed a few Indian lodges at the mouth of the Vermilion River.³⁶ The scenery is much the same, only we pass close by the bluffs for some distance. They are of cretaceous formation, and according to Dr. Hayden, form the nearest approach to chalk that we have in this country. They are not perfectly white, but stained with iron. This evening we heard whip-poor-wills, and had seen several pigeons during the day. To-night we tied up under some small cottonwood trees, so that we have an abundance of mosquitoes and they are very annoying.

June 12

To-day was Sunday, and clear and warm during the middle of the day, so that I could scarcely sleep in the afternoon. About nine o'clock we stopped to wood, which we had to cut for ourselves. This is the first time we have not found a wood-pile already cut, but though we will probably get it to-morrow or to-night, we will afterwards cut our own. There are generally found enough dead trees for all our wants, but they have to be cut down and in lengths of from ten to fifteen feet and brought

³⁵ One of the early military posts on the Upper Missouri. Established in 1856, after site of Ft. Pierre had proved untenable.

³⁶ This was a favorite haunt of the Indians.

on the boat, where they are afterwards sawed and split to the proper size. In this way two or three hours are spent every day, and we now expect to have more time to shoot birds or hunt. Soon afterwards we passed a village of the Sioux, about thirty lodges, on the left hand (east) bank of the river, and about twelve o'clock we came to another larger village, where an important chief, Smutty Bear,³⁷ lives. Here we stopped for some time and about thirty Indian warriors came on board, and held a council with some of the Indian agents, and passed the pipe around. The chief was rather aged, but was fine-looking, and evidently superior both physically and mentally to all his warriors. He had a deep-toned voice and spoke freely and with a good deal of gesticulation. One of the gentlemen afterward took his photograph, with which he was much pleased, and requested to have one taken for himself. While seated in a circle coffee and crackers were handed around, and as they were in want of provisions, a supply was put on shore. The women and children were all standing along the shore. Their paint is used profusely, and many even of the children have their faces daubed with red. Yellow seemed the favorite color of the chief, as both his cheeks were painted with it, and his porcupine quill ornaments were mostly yellow. About a mile or two higher up, we stopped to take on wood, and an interpreter, and a white settler who traded with the Indians in this vicinity came on board with a number of pipes. One of them was very large and beautiful, and sold for five dollars. I purchased two smaller ones at more reasonable rates. They are made of the red pipe stone found in Dacotah T.,³⁸ on the Great Sioux not very far from here, I believe, and are held in great esteem both here and especially among the Indians higher up who are unable to procure any of this stone. We passed a few other single Indians but no more lodges. We have passed both a good deal of prairie land and also of sharp bluffs of slate and limestone. The bluffs have approached near each other and near the river, so that we have them continually on one side or the other. We saw a number

³⁷ Smutty Bear was an important figure in early transactions with the Indians. He lived on the Missouri River a few miles above Yankton, the place long being known as Smutty Bear's Bottom.

³⁸ Actually in Minnesota, near the western boundary.

of cliff swallows on the bluffs, and also a pair of geese-brants with their young ones. We expect to reach L'Eau qui Court or Running Water, or the Niobrara River to-night.

June 13.

We travelled most all of last night, and at about twelve o'clock to-day reached Fort Randall, so this morning we spent in writing letters, as this is our last mail post. We landed immediately after dinner, and most all of us went ashore to look around. I first went to the sutler's store to procure some shot, etc. Then we looked about the Fort, which is no fort at all, only barracks, log cabins occupied by the soldiers, and better ones by the officers, all facing an open square, in the center of which is a dial and flagstaff, with a stand for the musicians. I afterwards saw a new hospital that is not quite completed. It is built of cedar boards and divided into seven rooms, each about 18 feet by 10, and 8 feet high, with about three windows and a door in each, and other rooms for a surgery and storehouse, which form wings. We then saw a number of Indians about, and visited one of their lodges. They did not have much to sell or trade: some moccasins were offered at high prices, and a bow and some arrows were procured by those who brought fancy articles to trade with the Indians. We were to take on here thirty soldiers as an escort to the surveying party, and have been detained so that we shall not leave till to-morrow. They say the officers at the fort wanted the company of those on board and determined not to have their men ready before night, or at any rate would not hurry them at all.

June 17

On the 14th and 15th, we stopped several times, and I procured several of the round Turk's-head-cactus with pink blossoms, and also a soap plant on the 16th, and a bird's nest and a blue prairie snake. Yesterday about twelve-thirty and just after dinner, we reached the great bend³⁹ where the river makes a circuit of about forty-five miles around, and where it is only about four miles across. Here the boat stopped and put a number of us ashore to walk across. As it was rather doubtful whether the

³⁹ The Big Bend, so often described by early travellers.

boat would reach us by night, I took my overcoat with me. I had a gunpowder and shot flasks belt with knife and geological hammer and a bag. We soon divided up into small parties, an Indian half-breed took the lead, and walked so fast that he was soon far ahead. Grosvenor, Jack Culbertson and myself followed, and other parties came on in succession. We first had about two and a half or three miles of level prairie with scarcely a tree, and a hot sun shining on us, and no brooks or water. We rested twice for a few minutes each time, and then began the hill's first gradual ascent, and then more sudden. We followed by the side of a ravine, and before long found ourselves at a point from which we could see the Missouri again. As we began to feel considerably thirsty, the sight of the water was very grateful, and after climbing several other hills, we soon descended to the bank of the river, and quenched our thirst, and rested for a little while, and fired our guns as a signal and for amusement. After a short time, Piersol, the naturalist, came in, directed by the report of our guns. As I was considerably rested I laid my overcoat on a tree and started off in search of fossils or game, but found little of either. I fired at one dove, and found a few pieces of old shells, and after ascending a very steep hill and crossing two ravines, I came to the river again, where I found several more had come in, and they had removed the place of camp to a little higher up the river, so I had to go after my overcoat and again returned. We then rested for a little while, and as different parties started in different directions, Jack and I started for the hills, where we soon met with the Indian half-breed. We all started for a long walk in search of deer, and in passing along we dug up several "pommes blanches",⁴⁰ a root from which the Indians derive a great part of their subsistence. I ate one or two of them but found them rather tough, but not a disagreeable flavor. They are said to be better when cooked, but this we did not try. We took a long walk among the hills and ravines, but saw no animals and only a few small birds, and were obliged to return to the camp gameless. Here we found all the rest of the party in the same condition, and during all the day, only two large rabbits had been seen, besides small birds. We had met

40 Indian turnip, *psoralea esculenta*.

with a few tracks of deer and wolves of the night before, but no living appearance. The hills are the most desert places I have ever beheld, and well deserve the name of "*mauvaises terres*." No trees are to be seen except a few cedars along the ravines, and not much grass. Many of the hills have no vegetation on their summits and sides, but present a black appearance; they are formed of a compact clay which on exposure to the air pulverizes and again when moist the surface is baked and cracks from the sun's heat. Sometimes fossils are found in them, but we could procure none worth having, and of all my collections of stones when I returned to the boat and Dr. Hayden looked over them, he said only two were worth anything, and those he seemed to think did not amount to much. There are small streams in the ravines, but they are impregnated with salt, so as to render them disagreeable to drink, as I found from experience when thirsty, and all the stones in their channel were encrusted with a whitish deposit.

We then chose our camp ground, and collected wood for a fire, which we all sat around, and ate some crackers and cheese that we had brought with us, but as we had no game we were not in a particularly good humor. Two doves were shot and cooked before the fire. We then all lay down to sleep, and I found my overcoat very comfortable, although it had been very hot to carry during the day. We were still a little in hopes of the boat and some declared they heard it, but we all settled down to sleep. I slept pretty well during the night and waked only two or three times. We were up, however, by daybreak, and as we had only a very few crackers left, I did not feel like doing much. However, some of us ascended a high hill and saw the boat at a distance, and picked up a few stones and prickly pears. I looked for fossils but found no good ones. Then I came to the camp and found some of the men lying in the sunlight and sleeping. I lay down and almost fell asleep, also, but the sun's glare was too great, so I got up and went to the shade by the river and stayed there, where I found several others who had been lying on the dry sand for some time. Then I took the spy glass and went up a small hill and saw the boat just coming around a point within a mile from us. This was a second great occasion of re-

joining for me; the first was yesterday when we came to the river and quenched our thirst; so, as I did not want to go without anything, I dug up three small soap plants and put them in my bag. We then all got ready and came with our things to the river, where the boat soon came up and took us on board. They then had a breakfast prepared which was eagerly devoured by us, as it was nearly ten o'clock, though at dinner time I still had a good appetite. In the afternoon I slept about three hours. Some of our surveyors took a barometer and found one of the hills about three hundred feet high, though there were some still higher.

June 19

Yesterday morning about nine o'clock we arrived at Fort Pierre,⁴¹ the first trading post of the company. It is about 1550 miles from St. Louis. The old fort is situated about a mile and a half below the present one. It was formerly called Fort Pierre Chouteau,⁴² and a few years ago was sold to the government,⁴³ and the company erected a new one a short distance above at the present site. The government afterwards abandoned their fort and it is now in the control of the opposition Fur Company. Here the Indians were directed to assemble to receive their annuities⁴⁴ and also the goods promised under the Harney treaty.⁴⁵ The former were under the control of Major Schoonover, the Indian agent, and the latter of Captain Reynolds, who commands the surveying party. We found only about thirty lodges of Indians, and among them several chiefs, but most of the nation had not assembled, as there is little game in the neighborhood, and it is difficult consequently to maintain themselves. They are the various tribes of the Sioux nation. A council was held and they adjourned till to-day to determine upon an answer. Captain Reynolds wished to know whether they would allow his party to proceed peaceably as agreed upon by the Harney treaty before he gave the goods. So to-day another long council was held from nine-thirty to two o'clock, in which various Indians made speeches, and then adjourned till afternoon. I listened for

⁴¹ Ft Pierre, one of the three famous posts on the Upper Missouri

⁴² Original name of the trading post, named for Pierre Chouteau, Jr.

⁴³ The government took possession of Ft. Pierre in 1855.

⁴⁴ Goods supplied by the government under agreement with the Indians.

⁴⁵ Although the so-called Harney Treaty was never ratified, its terms were partially kept by the government for a few years.

a little while but soon got tired of the fun, as they seemed to me to be only constantly repeating the same thing, and that not the subject under consideration. The council was held on the open prairie, the Indians squatting on the ground in a semi-circle and the white "chiefs" sitting on chairs. In the afternoon another council was held in the boat, coffee and crackers being handed around as preliminaries, and the Indians soon agreed to receive their presents and not molest the party of travellers. One thing they objected to, however, was the signing the receipt for the goods, as they said that whenever they put their name to paper, they afterwards regretted it, and found themselves in trouble. They seemed to be afraid that the meaning of the writing might not be properly explained. So the ceremony of the signatures was dispensed with. The principal chief was Bear's Ribs,⁴⁶ and among others were Two Bears and Fire Heart. Yesterday we all went ashore and visited the Fort and the encampment of the Indians. I went to the store to procure a nipple tube for my gun and there got also from the clerk a pair of moccasins for a couple of pounds of figs. I have since been wearing the moccasins and find them comfortable, except for the thin soles and the want of heels. The hunters say they are the best thing for walking over the prairies and smooth hills. We went about among all the lodges and found them very dirty, a few moccasins were obtained; one pair was bought for a dollar. I saw one beautiful pipe cut in the shape of a tomahawk and made of the red pipestone. A good many of the men had almost no clothing but a blanket, and almost all wear one around their bodies in a very inconvenient manner, I should think. Many of the children, too, are almost entirely naked. Few of the women are pretty, and all, when old, present the appearance of hags and could easily be taken for witches by the credulous. In the afternoon we saw a steamer come in sight, which at first was supposed to be the *Chippewa*, as we had left her behind the day before, but it turned out to be the *Florence* which left St. Louis six days after us. She was in the service of the opposition company, and was very lightly loaded, and travelled by night, so she had easily

⁴⁶ A chief of the Hunkpapa Sioux who was killed at Ft. Pierre in June, 1862 by One-That-Limps and Mouse.

overtaken us. She left the same night. Towards evening the *Chippewa* came up and she left to-day, also, some hours before we did. Yesterday afternoon I walked to the old fort and also to the Indian burying ground. They bury their dead in trees or artificial scaffolding about eight feet high. There were three or four of the scaffolds with two or three bodies on each, some in boxes, some merely wrapped in cloths. In one tree there is a scaffold said to have on it the remains of fourteen bodies, placed there at different times, however. We saw also a wigwam, deserted and torn to pieces by the rain and weather. A year ago a party of Rees came down to steal horses; one was shot and his body was said to have been cut to pieces; a wigwam was erected over his remains, and now are to be seen his skull pierced with bullets, and some other bones, besides his tomahawk, leggins, spoon and other personal property. To-day we have done nothing but had councils with the Indians. I procured half a dozen arrows but could get no pipes or other good articles except at very high prices. We left the fort about eight o'clock this evening, and took leave of our friends of the surveying party. They are all very pleasant and well informed, sociable companions, and they have made themselves agreeable, so I am afraid we shall all miss their company very much. I envy them very much their eighteen months' trip in the unexplored regions, and hope to see them again on their return. After bidding good-bye half a dozen times, the boat at last pushed off, and we soon left them behind. We then sat down and enjoyed a comfortable tea.

I forgot to say Fort Pierre is miserably situated on a scorching prairie with hills behind and on the opposite side of the river, and with scarcely a tree in sight, while all the wood has to be cut and floated down from five miles above. As we have now put off so much freight, I hope we will be able to travel at better speed than formerly, and moreover the river is rising and promises little difficulty.

June 22

Since I wrote last, we have proceeded pretty rapidly on our journey, only we have had to stop two or three hours every day to cut wood. We are still passing over the same kind of country, "Bad Lands", on both sides of the river, with a strip of timber

in some parts along the shore, and at others high bluffs. There have been several reports of game being seen, but these objects on closer observation with glasses have so often turned out to be rocks or trees, that we have all become very incredulous. Last night, however, I really did see by the aid of a glass an animal running which was either a deer or an antelope. On the other boat they shot an antelope last week, but we have procured no game as yet. To-day some of our hunters were out and walked ten or twelve miles along the river and on the hills. One of them started when the boat stopped to wood and walking on he was afterwards picked up by the boat. He had seen no game at all but some pigeons. I would like to go with him, but he is the fastest walker I have seen, and I think he would soon tire me out. Ten or twelve miles at a pace second to run, and without rest, is *rather* fatiguing. I shot two small birds to-day, and have obtained several nests lately. Last night Mr. Chouteau caught and gave me a splendid bat, the largest I have ever seen, with two little young ones fastened to it. We put it in a glass jar for the present. The evening before last there was the appearance of a thunderstorm, and I put out my test paper for ozone. We had another thunderstorm yesterday, and to-day when I examined the paper, it was brown and turned to light blue on dipping in water. To-day I put up another paper, and since then we have had more lightning and rain. This afternoon we stopped at "Little Soldier's Village."⁴⁷ The Little Soldier is an Indian chief who followed General Harney's advice, left off war and settled to agriculture and buffalo hunting. We went to his village and found the residences not of skin wigwams but of wood and mud huts. They are more commodious than the lodges and have the advantage that the Indians are enabled to bring their horses in them at night. But as they are fixed, the dirt accumulates and they are not aired well, so in this respect they are inferior in comfort to the lodges. The village is small. The chief with his followers, six in number, came on board, talked with the agent, had coffee and crackers, and also a few provisions were put on shore for them, but most of their supplies had been left at Fort Pierre. The land is miserable and I think even civilized European farm-

⁴⁷ Site not definitely located.

ers would find it difficult to draw their subsistence from it. We miss our friends who left us at Fort Pierre very much, and the boat seems deserted without them, although there are still a good number of passengers on board. In the evenings four of us play whist until quite late.

June 24

Yesterday morning we passed the Cannon Ball River, so called from the number of stones in the banks of the Missouri near its mouth. They seem to be exactly round and of the size of a cannon ball, and some half-embedded in the bank have the appearance of being shot, while others lie at the bottom of the hill and margin of the river. About a little after ten o'clock we stopped to cut wood, and several of us went to hunt. I joined a hunter and expected to be back in a short time, but when we had gone a little way, we concluded to cross a bend and meet the boat higher up the river. When we got to the bluffs, we saw an Indian encampment some distance off and on the opposite bank. This we had been expecting to see for some days. It belonged to "Big Head,"⁴⁸ a chief of the Sioux, and here we knew the boat would stop for some time, so we crossed over a second bend. We were joined by one of the negro servants of the boat, who was also trying to hunt. Most of the land was good prairie walking, but we had some hills to pass and towards the latter part a considerable number of the bluffs and springs characteristic of the "mauvaises terres": high precipitous bluffs with sharp cut sides without vegetation, and in some places pyramids rising abruptly from the level prairie, coming to a point on the top with sides sloping, and entirely devoid of vegetation. Between these hills or at their feet are ravines in many of which are springs and soft boggy ground, which shakes when trodden on, and if one is not careful, he may sink deeply in them. This happened to our "nigger." While the half breed and myself were digging a spring to collect enough water to drink, he wandered off behind a hill and in a few moments we saw him re-appear on the top of the hill, gray up to the waist with the light colored mud. He fell in and said

⁴⁸ Big Head was a Sioux chief who refused to come to Ft. Pierre to meet Gen. Harney in 1856. He was numbered among the hostiles for many years

his gun went out of sight, though he kept hold of it, and he himself did not touch bottom. He tried to wipe off the mud, and ended by rolling in the grass, like a dog just coming out of water.

We saw about a dozen antelopes on our road but most were wild and we did not procure any. We reached the river about three-thirty, first the negro and myself, and shortly after a hunter named Morgan, whom we had not seen since leaving the boat, and who had been equally unsuccessful as ourselves, and some time after our half-breed hunter also joined us. We now began to grow hungry, and the clouds gathered and some thunder was heard, but no boat appeared in sight, so we erected two small huts, one of bark and one of willows, to protect us, but fortunately the storm passed over with only a little sprinkling. Six o'clock tea time came and still no boat. About seven o'clock our hunters went off again to look about and soon after I went also to look at a hill in search of fossils, and I soon found I was followed by the negro. I found no fossils and climbed an almost precipitous bank to the top of the hill and afterwards we went to one still higher, from which we could see the river for many miles. Here we had the pleasure of seeing the boat, though still at least eight miles to come before reaching our camping place. We soon set out to return to our camp and arrived there about nine o'clock. During the day I had walked in all about twenty miles, without anything to eat since breakfast, so I felt rather hungry and tired. About ten o'clock the boat reached us, and we went aboard and ate a hearty supper and soon retired to bed. During the day we had seen but little game, about ten antelopes at a distance, but had procured none, and I did not even have a shot. Those who travelled nearer the river came upon a village of prairie dogs. I found no fossils except some petrified wood, of which I procured one block and several chips. The tops of some of the hills were covered with the petrified chips which looked so like real ones that it was only after taking them up that I was sure of their petrification. I saw three round cactus with red blossoms, and brought home one. To-day, the 24th, I procured several others, whereas Dr. Hayden told me he had never found them above Fort Lookout. When we arrived on board we found that they

the first of the century, the United States was a young nation, and its people were full of energy and ambition. They were determined to build a great nation, and they were willing to sacrifice everything for it. They were full of hope and optimism, and they were determined to make the most of their opportunities. They were full of life and vigor, and they were determined to live their lives to the fullest. They were full of faith and belief, and they were determined to follow their dreams. They were full of love and compassion, and they were determined to help others. They were full of courage and bravery, and they were determined to stand up for their principles. They were full of wisdom and knowledge, and they were determined to learn from their mistakes. They were full of strength and power, and they were determined to overcome all their challenges. They were full of joy and happiness, and they were determined to enjoy every moment of their lives. They were full of peace and harmony, and they were determined to live in a world of love and understanding. They were full of hope and optimism, and they were determined to make the most of their opportunities. They were full of life and vigor, and they were determined to live their lives to the fullest. They were full of faith and belief, and they were determined to follow their dreams. They were full of love and compassion, and they were determined to help others. They were full of courage and bravery, and they were determined to stand up for their principles. They were full of wisdom and knowledge, and they were determined to learn from their mistakes. They were full of strength and power, and they were determined to overcome all their challenges. They were full of joy and happiness, and they were determined to enjoy every moment of their lives. They were full of peace and harmony, and they were determined to live in a world of love and understanding.

had stopped for some time at the Indian village, and afterwards they had crossed over and waited for us, ringing the bell and whistling, supposing we might have been left behind, and while waiting here, Mr. Ater^{48A}, the clerk, went on shore and shot a very large elk, so to-day we have had game for our meals. To-day we have not done much; we stopped to wood for some time and also to wait for the *Chippewa*, which has not kept up to us for several days past, and after waiting some hours, sent a boat with four men in a skiff to meet and assist her. Several of the men had gone out to hunt, and some of them we picked up several miles from the boat, but none had procured game. I only went a short distance, as my ankle is sore and brought home cactus, and saw also some yucca plant, but no game. There are a good many pigeons and doves in the woods, but we seldom shoot them. We stopped to-night about seven miles below Fort Clark,⁴⁹ which we expect to reach early in the morning.

June 26

Yesterday morning about six o'clock we reached Fort Clark and we all went ashore before breakfast. The fort is well situated on a high hill overhanging the river, but owing to the fact of the river channel having changed, it cannot be very closely approached by the steamer. The Indians here are the Mandans and Aricarees, or Rees, as they are commonly called. The Mandans were formerly a powerful tribe, but of late years, they have been greatly reduced by the smallpox, so that now they are unable to maintain a separate existence, but live together with the Rees. They have a large village of huts, made of poles and mud, very commodious, and in each hut two or three families reside. Some also have square log cabins. Their huts are open at the top for the smoke to ascend, and they have a kind of fireplace in the center of the floor. They seemed comfortable and commodious, but dirty. I was in a number of them, smoking with the Indians, and trying to trade, but was not very successful. We stayed some hours, but then proceeded, and in the afternoon we had a heavy thunderstorm; several of our staterooms unfortunately leaked, and mine among the number.

^{48-A} Will W. Ater.

⁴⁹ Fort Clark was on the west side of the Missouri River about 50 miles above Bismarck

June 27

At Fort Clark, we took on a number of Indians who wanted to go to Fort Berthold, which is only sixty miles higher up the river, and as they had the reputation of not being very honest, we were obliged to keep all our doors shut, so that my room had no good opportunity of becoming dry. To-day, however, I have left the door open and it is quite dry. Several of the passengers tried to trade with the Indians, and I procured a whistle from a Mandan Indian. These whistles are hung around their necks and used when going to war or in charging on their enemies; they are made of the wing bone of the eagle or goose. Yesterday afternoon about three o'clock we arrived at Fort Berthold. The fort is well situated on a high hill overhanging the river, and near it is a large village of the "Gros Ventres" or Minetare Indians. Their lodges appeared to be similar to those of the Rees, but I did not go into any. They also seemed to have an immense number of wolf dogs, for a most infernal howling was kept up all the time. All the breed of Indian dogs is mixed with wolf blood, and many of them are very similar in appearance to this animal. These Indians, the men at least, were well dressed, and red flannel seemed to be the favorite article of attire, made into coats or pants or blankets, and ornamented in various ways. Many of the young men had also very handsome quivers made of fur, and on the whole they were the finest dressed Indians that we have met. The women and children were as usual rather badly clad and extremely dirty. Here we put off all of our Indians except a Blackfoot; and we also took on a few others; among them Mrs. Culbertson,⁵⁰ who of course dressed like a white lady, and is said to be a very fine woman. I have been introduced to her, but as she cannot speak English, I can say nothing to her. The Indians in talking make use of their hands a great deal. I believe it is partly from the poverty of their languages, and they supply the scarcity of words by signs. I have seen two different nations keep up a long conversation without using a word. I saw one Indian man with hare-lip, and I was asked to examine another who had chronic inflamma-

⁵⁰ Mrs. Alexander Culbertson who had been a passenger on the *Iowa* in 1849.

tion of the shoulder with partial dislocation. Here we were also to do a little trading, for it was said the *Florence* had been there two days before and procured all the best articles; in fact, I saw only one or two pairs of moccasins at all pretty, and most of them were extremely common. We stayed there 'till after six and then proceeded, and to-day we have gone without anything remarkable occurring. This morning one of the men of the *Chippewa* cut his ankle with an axe while chopping, the first accident of the kind that I have had. This morning two young men went off early to hunt, and when we took them on, they had walked a number of miles and procured nothing. This evening another party set out to cross a large bend of the river. They will camp out and hunt in the morning 'till the boat reaches them. I intended to go with them, but my foot hurt me so that I was afraid I could not walk, and so I gave it up. This evening we saw on the prairie two deer at one time, and afterwards saw another. I took a long nap this afternoon and so do not feel sleepy this evening, though it is now growing late.

June 28

Although I slept so much yesterday afternoon and went to bed before twelve o'clock, it was twenty minutes to nine when I awoke this morning, and all the breakfast was cleaned up. I succeeded, however, in getting a cup of coffee and some crackers and cheese with which I did very well 'till dinner time, twelve. About eleven-thirty we took on board two of our hunters who went out last night. The night was very dark and it rained a little, and in the dark they lost their companions. They had walked about twenty-five miles and killed a deer which they brought on board, so that we had venison steak for tea to-night. The other four hunters we have not yet come up to, so that they will be obliged to camp out two nights. It is to be hoped they have killed something. We saw several wolves to-day and this afternoon a few buffaloes not very far from the river, and one was fired at from the *Chippewa*. Ater and Williamson went ashore this afternoon and killed a buffalo. It was about three miles from where the boat stopped to wood, and they sent out three mules and some men to bring home the meat, but one of the mules threw its rider and ran off, so that the others had to

go back and find it. I started out to see the buffalo and look for game, or to shoot any wolves which probably will have a fine feast to-night. I could not find the buffalo and saw no game, though plenty of recent buffalo tracks, and after walking about six miles returned to the boat. So the buffalo had to be left, and the mule has not yet (ten-thirty P. M.) been found. The only thing I have seen worthy of notice in my walk is a kind of juniper or cedar.⁵¹ It is just like our ordinary cedar, only instead of growing into trees it creeps along the ground like a vine, and covers the hillside giving it a very pleasant appearance, but making it exceedingly disagreeable to walk over, because hills are very slippery, and it is almost impossible to prevent falling.

June 29

The only noteworthy object of to-day is the appearance of buffalo. Nothing has yet been seen of our four hunters, so that we conclude that they have proceeded by land to Fort Union. We stopped to wood this morning, and when almost ready to start, part of the bank caved in and precipitated a tree on the wheel of the *Chippewa* which lay immediately next the bank, and we were detained till dinner time in repairing some broken braces. We fastened the *Chippewa* to our side, for whenever left alone she falls behind and we are delayed in waiting for her, and several times we have sent men to her assistance. Soon after dinner we saw a buffalo a little above the boat entering the river to swim across, and by the time we drew near, it had crossed over, but could not get out of the mud. When we came within range a volley was opened upon it, but with little damage, as we soon saw it galloping over the hills. We had sent two hunters ahead. We now came up to them and found they had killed two buffalo bulls which had been shot while crossing the river. They were soon hauled on board and one was butchered Indian fashion by cutting off all the flesh and leaving the bones. This may do on the prairies but a good deal of meat is lost by this manner. The other was cut up after a *Christian* fashion, and we will have many good roasting pieces from it, I expect. The Indians took the lead in butchering the first, taking off their moccasins and slashing away with great glee. They took the stomach, from which

⁵¹ Still common in the region. Mentioned by Warren in his report.

tripe is usually made, and ate it raw, without a very particular cleaning, too. They put a big piece in their mouth and cut off a mouthful with their knife. They sent to two of their chiefs who were on the upper deck a good piece of it, and also a marrow bone; this they serve in the same way, breaking it in pieces, digging out the marrow and devouring it raw. In the evening we fired at another buffalo in the water and probably mortally wounded him, but the boat did not stop.

July 1

The day before yesterday we saw nothing of importance and no game of any kind, and it was so intensely hot that we were unable to enjoy ourselves in any way, even to sleep, though for some time I was engaged in packing some medicines. About nine o'clock in the evening we passed the mouth of the Yellowstone River. This certainly at first appeared to be the real continuation of the Missouri, and the Missouri itself seems to enter only a branch. In about an hour we approached Fort Union and after two salutes were landed. We found nothing had been heard of our friends whom we had left on shore, and this morning two or three men with horses were sent in search of them. The only fear is that their moccasins have worn out so that they can only walk slowly. This morning I arose rather early and after breakfast went to the Fort. I had been there the night before. Mr. Culbertson was kind enough to show me all about it; he had charge of it for some time, and had built or improved a good deal of it. There are wooden pickets enclosing a space of about 150 feet square. The principal house is very good, though somewhat out of repair, and the smaller ones are very comfortable. There are two stone bastions at the two opposite corners, which guard all four sides of the fort. I traded for three pairs of moccasins and had two other beautiful pairs given to me by Mr. Dawson, and I had also two pairs of deer horns given to me. In the afternoon I took a walk in search for fossils but saw none but some petrified wood. I saw the yucca plant in blossom, and also some cactus, and found some of the long pieces of the buffalo hump. There is a kind of crystallized salt found in great abundance on the tops of the hills, but I do not know what it is.

July 4

We remained at Fort Union⁵² all of the 1st and 2nd of July, and yesterday morning about eight o'clock we started off. I did not do much during the day except loaf about and talk and prepare for re-shipping my medicines, etc. We were delayed by some business matters among our superiors which ended in the company's purchasing the *Chippewa* to go to Fort Benton.⁵³ So her former captain, crew and passengers and a few of our own passengers were sent down the river in a *mackinaw* boat, while our officers and men went on the *Chippewa*, leaving only a few to take charge of the *Spread Eagle* 'till our return. At Fort Union we left Major Schoonover and his assistants and Mr. Meldrum, who are to go up the Yellowstone to Fort Sarpy,⁵⁴ about four hundred miles. They go up along the shore and their goods for trading, etc., are "cordelled," i. e., dragged by ropes by the men along the shore. In this manner they travel about fifteen miles a day, so that it is rather slow work. While at Fort Union, Mrs. Culbertson gave me two very pretty pair of moccasins of her own, and Mr. Dawson gave me a splendid Indian pipe which he had heard me admire. It is the handsomest one on the boat, and with it is also the tobacco pouch worked with beads and porcupine. We left the fort about eight o'clock yesterday, and our destination is Fort Benton, if possible, or the highest navigable point by the boat. Hitherto the very highest point has been the Milk River, about three hundred miles from the Yellowstone, while Fort Benton is seven hundred and fifty miles, though only about three hundred by land. We have two or three hunters who ride along on horseback, and who are to keep up with us and supply us with fresh meat. Yesterday they gave us two deer, and to-day we have seen nothing of them. Much of the country that we pass is much the same as below, though we passed yesterday some beautiful prairies, and on one of them saw an elk grazing. Yesterday the mate of the boat caught his foot in some machinery which so injured his great toe that I was obliged to remove a

52 Fort Union, on the Missouri River, a few miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone.

53 Fort Benton, on the Missouri, about 750 miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone.

54 Fort Sarpy, on the Yellowstone, 225 miles above Ft. Union.

little more than the first joint; to-day he is doing very well. This morning about six o'clock, I heard the cannon firing and at first concluded that it was on account of the Fourth, but I soon found it was that we were at Fort Kipp.⁵⁵ Last year the opposition Fur Company abandoned their fort at the mouth of the Yellowstone and removed to this point and built a fort called Fort Stuart.⁵⁶ This induced our company to build one also, which is called Fort Kipp. It is very small and we only stayed a short time and proceeded on our way.

July 7

Since leaving Fort Union, we have got on very well; on two or three occasions only have we found shallow water which occasioned short detentions. Day before yesterday we broke the stern out of one of the mackinaw boats and were detained for some time in repairing it. Game is abundant. We see buffalo continually on the hills and prairies and sometimes shoot at them in the river, but we have not killed any yet, although we have wounded several. They swim with only their head out of water and as they have a great deal of hair and little brain, it is very difficult to kill them in the water. The day before yesterday as I was in a grove, I saw a large deer or elk but could not get near enough for a shot, and yesterday from the boat we saw two elk in another point of timber. We saw also a bighorn or mountain sheep on top of the hills at a distance. For the last two days I saw a number of flycatchers peculiar to the West. They are similar in shape and habits to our king bird, but of different colors. I procured and skinned one. We have seen also wolves, but have not yet been favored with the appearance of a grizzly, although they are said to be abundant here. Last evening about five o'clock we passed the mouth of Milk River, and about a half hour later, the place where the *El Paso*⁵⁷ unloaded a few years ago, so that we are now higher than any steamer has ever been before. About six o'clock we came to a broad and shallow part of the river with no well cut channel

55 Fort Kipp, on the Missouri, 35 miles above Ft. Union.

56 Fort Stewart was built by the Opposition within 200 yards of Fort Kipp. Both posts were burned in 1860.

57 The *El Paso* had reached a point five miles above the mouth of Milk River in 1853 and for six years this was the farthest point reached by the steamboats.

and plenty of sand bars, and here we were delayed 'till twelve o'clock in getting over the bars. We were obliged to lighten on the mackinaws and then spar, and after much work we succeeded in passing. Early this morning before I was up, Col. Vaughan and his party left us. They travelled by land to Fort Benton, which is only about half the distance by land as by water, and they have carriages and mules. He took about ten men with him, so that our party is now considerably reduced in numbers. We have had very pleasant weather but warm 'till to-day, when it is rainy and disagreeable. On the Fourth of July, the thermometer in the cabin stood at 105 degrees and we are in the 48th Parallel.

July 9

On the morning of the 7th, after the rain, we landed to wood and went shooting. I saw a white wolf and fired and ought to have hit it, but did not, and afterwards saw some small dark young ones but did not get a good shot. I also saw a deer at some distance off but could not follow it. During the day we saw also several buffaloes along the river. Yesterday we saw in the morning several fine elk, but no buffaloes, and in the afternoon I went off for some time hunting but saw no game though there were any quantity of the Arkansas flycatchers. In the evening when we stopped to hunt, we got two young white headed eagles, one of which I skinned to-day, and the other is still alive on the boat. A few days ago Mr. Chouteau got six live young ravens which he wants to take home, and one of the men caught a young beaver, which, however, soon died and was stuffed. The country here is pleasanter than below. Between the hills the river winds in a meandering course, and on each bend is a fine open point of timber, while the opposite bend curves against the hill or prairie. The groves are open with little undergrowth and through them are often small open places called "prairieus." The wood is still the cottonwood and small willows along the river shore. These willows are said to be a favorite resort for the grizzlies and I never feel comfortable when travelling alone through them. Wild sage is very abundant on the prairies and the bushes over-grow four or five feet high. This morning we passed the "Round Butte" which is

said to be the half way point between the Forts Union and Benton, and here the Bad Lands run for a short distance. This round butte is a high round tapering hill springing from the hills, tapering up to a point. It stands alone, or rather, higher than the rest, and can be seen for some distance off. This afternoon the hills of the Bad Lands have been very picturesque, presenting various forms of cities, castles, turrets, walls, citadels, etc. Some of the hills rise almost perpendicularly from the prairie and on their summits are these castles, etc. They are of a light grayish color and generally nothing grows on them though sometimes pine trees follow down the ravines. Yesterday we saw the pine trees for the first time on our trip. About dark these hills gradually sank down into small irregular hills. The river has been pretty bad in several places since leaving Milk River, and yesterday afternoon we were detained for some time. The river spreads very wide with sand bars in the center, and the water is so broad that there is no good channel. To-day we have done very well, and this evening the river has narrowed, the water good and the banks very pretty. We have seen many buffaloes to-day, and this morning one came near the boat, so that we killed him. About ten shots were fired and each of us claims to have killed or at least "helped to have killed" him. One bullet was taken out, but as three of us have bullets from the same mould, we all can pretend to it, I among the number. Soon after, our hunters on one side of the river brought us the meat of one buffalo and afterwards the hunters on the opposite side shot another, so that we have plenty of meat. Our meat has always been abundant, but since leaving the *Spread Eagle* vegetables and pies have been scarce and our ice for the last few days has entirely failed, at which many of our passengers seriously complain. One of our Indians who left with Col. Vaughan two days ago came on board again to-day, and he seems to prefer travelling on steamboat to horseback riding. This evening after tea we saw a grizzly bear running along the shore, the only one I have seen, and now I feel satisfied, as we have seen buffalo, deer, elk, antelope, mountain sheep, bear, eagle, besides minor game, including any quantity of geese and ducks. I forgot, I want to see a porcupine, though I am afraid I shall not be

gratified. All day I have been occupied with stuffing my eagle, so that I feel tired, and to-morrow I have a bat with long ears which was caught to-day.

July 11

Yesterday we did not do much. We saw several herds of buffalo and some more bears, and in the woods I saw a deer. I skinned a bat and took a nap, although it was very warm in the afternoon. About two o'clock we passed the Musselshell River. In the evening a storm of wind and rain sprang up, and we tied up to the shore early. A buffalo was seen about a mile ahead and one of the hunters went and shot it. Most of the meat was brought home, but much of course was left, and this the wolves soon found and kept up an infernal howling late in the night. The appearance of the river has changed within a few days. The hills covered with pine trees approach close to the bank, and the river is more closely hemmed in by the hills on both sides, and some of the bends around the points are very sharp. One or two appeared to be less than a right angle and we had some difficulty in turning the boat to get around them. The country is much wilder, though the points of timber are still numerous and open with little underwood. This morning Mr. Dawson had made for us some buffalo sausage, which was very good.

July 12

I had just written thus far yesterday when I was interrupted by a cry of game and guns ready, so we all rushed out and found a band of about fifteen or twenty elk crossing the river. They were some distance ahead of us and were about landing, when some one fired at them, on which two turned back, and as they were swimming, we all fired, and killed both. I procured the skull of one and was occupied all the afternoon and this morning cleaning it. Some one, however, took the liberty of extracting two of the teeth, which injures it very much. Last evening we passed Grand Island, one of the very prettiest spots, with a beautiful grove of trees, that we have seen on our voyage. Yesterday we also passed two small rapids, but the river is quite high and we had little difficulty in getting over them. We had some little difficulty

to-day, but not of much consequence. The shores of the river are now gravelly in parts, and the water is getting quite clear, so that last night we had a delightful swim. To-day we have come again into the picturesque "mauvaises terres" but I have been so busy that I have not had much time to look at the scenery. We landed just after dinner at the foot of one of the hills to take on wood, which is scarce in this part of the river, so we are obliged to seize every opportunity, and we all went ashore. The hills are of soft gray sandstone, which readily washes into fantastic shapes. On the top of the hill were three or four columns surmounted by a broad and flat piece of stone of different color. I crossed over the hill and came down along a ravine. I saw no fossils except a few shells. Mr. Weber found a pair of elk horns, the second he has found; none of the rest have found any. They are quite large and handsome. I feel tired and warm and shall try to take a nap.

July 13

Yesterday afternoon we came to some rapids which detained us for a little while, and in the evening we landed early, so that I had an opportunity to go in search of fossils, which, however, I found scarce, and obtained only a few shells and a little petrified wood. I also found some petrified vertebrae, but much to my regret broke them accidentally. I ascended a high hill of the bad lands and found it much like most hills, but rather steep and tiresome, and in descending along a ravine, I met with the most difficult and dangerous places for climbing I ever had the fortune to encounter. The sides were steep and slippery, and often holes worn in the rock at the bottom, into which it would not have been difficult to fall, and which I had frequently to spring over as I was sliding. I attempted to bring some stones down with me, but being several times obliged to throw down the rocks, they were mostly broken by the time I completed my journey. Most of the hills are entirely destitute of trees and vegetation, except some pines in the ravines and prickly pears occasionally. I saw some cliff swallows and attempted to procure a nest, but they were just a little too high to reach. This morning we got off of the boat early to walk ahead while they

were passing Bird's and Dauphin's Rapids,⁵⁸ as these last are said to be the worst on the river, and I am sure I hope so. We were obliged to cast off both mackinaws and take off a good deal of freight, and now we have been from eleven o'clock this morning 'till eleven o'clock to-night in attempting, but as yet unsuccessfully. This evening they attempted to warp her over by fixing an anchor in the shore, and with a long rope fastened to this and brought on board to drag her forward by a capstan worked by steam, but just as we were getting on very well, some of the machinery broke so that we are still here, though we hope to pass to-morrow morning. Our wood also is giving out and there is very little in the neighborhood. Yesterday afternoon while I was asleep, a herd of about one hundred mountain sheep was seen, and four or five more this morning. We put a hunter ashore this morning, and soon he made signs of seeing game, and for the boat to stop so as not to frighten them, and in a few minutes we saw just around a bend a herd of at least twenty elk which he seemed to be going after. He hesitated, however, and we could not understand his motions. Soon they were explained by three buffaloes being seen swimming the river and he seemed to despise the elk in their presence; as soon as they landed he fired and as they were not frightened, he shot two of the three, and then the other took to the hills. I and three others had a long walk his morning along the river, and I procured a few fossils and the others no game. We got a little ahead of the boat, and while waiting for her, took a delightful bath. In my rambles I met with a single small round cactus and several bushes of red currants. A few days ago I found some black ones, and these red ones are not at all like ours at home; they have none of the acid taste and are almost exactly, both in the appearance of the bush and in taste like the black ones. After waiting for some time for the boat and finding she was still detained on the rapids, we descended the river about half a mile and the yawl was sent for us, which brought us on board in time for a late dinner, and here we have been in almost the same spot ever since. The weather is now very warm, but almost every evening we have a shower, generally with lightning and thunder.

58 Dauphin's rapids were the first bad ones below Judith River.

July 15

We remained on the rapid all day yesterday 'till nearly four o'clock, when another load was taken off on the mackinaw boat, and thus lightened, the steamer readily passed over the rocks. They had then, however, to take on again all the freight that was placed on shore, and meanwhile I took a long walk over the hills geologizing and for amusement. Some of the hills were very high and steep and the ravines impassable in many places. By following along, however, the paths of the mountain sheep and buffalo, I climbed along without much difficulty. From the summit of the highest I had an extensive view of the surrounding country and saw at a distance the Little Rocky and Judith Mountains. I procured only some shells pretty high up in a ravine, and a piece of petrified wood, and came to the boat just before a shower of rain, and in-time for a late tea. I saw three buffalo on the opposite side of the river but no other game. To-day we have been travelling slowly, having advanced in all about thirty miles. In three or four places, we met with rapids where the current was so strong that we were unable to pass without leaving our mackinaws on shore to be cordelled a short distance, and this afternoon we abandoned our mackinaw for good and tied it on the shore. I have been on shore several times and procured some shells; as I was walking without my gun a short distance from the boat, I started up three deer, which ran off within fifty yards of where I was standing. The name of one of the rapids that we passed to-day was "Drowned Man's Rapids," from some voyagers having been drowned there, and we also passed to-day Judith River and Arrow River. The hills of the Bad Lands have gradually disappeared, though tomorrow we shall meet with others which are said to be very beautiful. To-day a large snake, four feet seven inches long, was killed near the boat, and I have the skin now in alcohol.

July 17

Yesterday morning we entered the second part of the Bad Lands, and here we had the finest scenery that we have anywhere observed in all our course. The hills are of sandstone, almost as white as the Rockaway sea sand, and being very soft,

they are worn into various peculiar shapes by the winds and water. They have what they call the steamboat, which presents two high towers for pipes and an elevation for the wheels; the chapel is a tower of rock, near the top of which is an arched Gothic doorway, and from this it has received its name. The citadel is a mass of *dark* rock rising almost perpendicularly from the river's edge to at least a hundred feet, while the other side of it gradually slopes down, or rather, first suddenly, then gradually. The stone walls are also considered objects of wonder; walls or dikes of a black stone like granite and from six inches to two feet in diameter cut through the sandstone. They generally run perpendicularly but sometimes in other directions; some run parallel to the river, many at right angles. After this we saw nothing worthy of special notice and the scenery became tame, mostly prairies and sand hills. On the same day, as the wood was becoming scarce and the river falling, we left our second boat on shore with a load of goods to be cordelled to the fort, and then proceeded on without difficulty. This morning about eight o'clock we passed the Marias River, and since then, wood from being *scarce* has become *very scarce*. Once we stopped to land and here we procured a few logs, but in starting off, we got on a sand bar and burnt up all the wood we had procured in trying to get off again. About three o'clock we arrived at Old Fort Mackenzie,⁵⁹ which was burnt down in 1846, and here we stopped with the intention of taking out some of our freight and then sailing on, but we have scarcely any wood, and there is a pretty strong current above us, so that now the probability of reaching Fort Benton is very slight, although we are only about twelve miles from it and less by land. Most of our freight has been landed and this evening Mr. Chouteau, Captain La Barge and a few others started for the fort by land. To-day I saw three magpies, the first I have yet seen, and at our wooding place we saw an Indian grave on one of the trees. I tried fishing also and caught eight and Mr. Isaacs caught five. To-day our fresh meat is exhausted, and we have been reduced to salt pork, which is not very acceptable to my palate.

⁵⁹ Fort Mackenzie was built on Brule Bottom by Culbertson and was used about 10 years being abandoned in 1845.

JULY 17—NOTE

"In 1859 the final step, or very nearly so, was taken in reaching the real head of navigation. The record of this event is quite as definite as are those of the entrance of steamboats into the mouth of the Missouri in 1819 and the voyage of the **Yellowstone** to Fort Union in 1832. In the spring of 1859 the American Fur Company sent up two boats with its annual outfit, its own boat, the **Spread Eagle**, and a chartered boat, the **Chippewa**. The **Chippewa** was a light boat, and her owner, Captain Crabtree, contracted to take her to Fort Benton, or as far as it was possible to go. At Fort Union he defaulted in his contract and sold the boat to the Company for just about the charter price for the voyage. Such freight as the **Spread Eagle** carried for Fort Benton was then transferred to the **Chippewa**, making a total cargo of 160 tons. Captain John La Barge, brother of Joseph La Barge, and pilot of the **Spread Eagle**, was assigned to charge of the **Chippewa** on her adventurous undertaking. Mr. Charles P. Chouteau went along as the Company's representative.

"The boat made her way successfully, and without any notable incident, to within fifteen miles of Fort Benton, and discharged her freight at Brule bottom, where Fort McKenzie stood in former years. Her arrival at this point was on July 17, 1859, forty years and two months after the **Independence** entered the mouth of the river.

"This noteworthy event must be classed as one of the celebrated feats in steamboat navigation. The **Chippewa** had reached a point further from the sea by a continuous water course than any other [steam] boat had ever been. She was now 3560 miles from, and 2565 feet above, the ocean, and the whole distance had been made by steam on a river unimproved by artificial works.

"In 1860 the **Chippewa** and the **Key West** completed the short remaining distance to Fort Benton, and made fast to the bank in front of the old post July 2 of that year."—*Chittenden-History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River*, Vol. I, pp 218-219.

July 20

On the morning of the 18th, our party returned from Fort Benton, and it was then concluded to be impossible to reach the fort in the steamboat on account of our want of wood, for although it was only twelve miles distant, yet the current was strong and we would be at least half a day in making the trip.⁶⁰ So we unloaded all our baggage and piled it on the shore, and then immediately after dinner, at a quarter to two o'clock, we took leave of our friends Mr. Dawson and the others, and turned down stream, firing our cannon several times as a salute. Since then we have been travelling down stream pretty well though we have met with considerable difficulty. The boat is so light that the currents and winds sometimes sweep her stern down stream, and then as she is a stern wheeler, we often have difficulty in righting her. Yesterday about one o'clock we reached the mouth of the Judith River and a little after five we passed Dauphin's Rapids. We find the river has fallen and we rubbed along the rocks considerably in passing. We got through, however, without very serious injury, and now we are past all the rapids, though the river is still low. Yesterday we cut down

⁶⁰ This decision to save a few hours allowed the **Key West** to share the honor of reaching Fort Benton with the **Chippewa** in 1860.

a good part of the cabin on account of the wind. The evenings have been very pleasant, and on the first we saw several beavers swimming and last night we saw three grizzly bears, and a flock of mountain sheep and several elk, but none within shot.

July 21

Yesterday we proceeded without much difficulty. We passed the Musselshell River in the afternoon, and about seven o'clock when we landed to wood, we went shooting. I saw four deer, at two of which I fired and missed, as they were running at a distance. The others shot at elk and buffalo, but with the same fortune. This morning we passed the Round Butte, but at about eleven o'clock the boat swung with the stern down stream and in attempting to right her, she ran on a sand bar, and we are now at eleven P. M. still in nearly the same position. We have been sparring all the afternoon and broke both our spars and had to cut others in the woods. We have had great difficulty in amusing ourselves; I tried to fish and caught five, and this evening we have been playing euchre and poker or bragg for corns, and to-morrow we hope to be under way again, as they are still working at the boat.

July 22

About nine o'clock this morning, we got off the sand bar, and floated a little way down the river, but soon were stopped again. The river has fallen considerably since we went up, and now is covered (studded) with sand bars, and the wind has been high for a few days, and as we have no freight on board we are easily blown about. We were obliged to stop several times to take soundings and to wood. I shot two flycatchers and skinned them, and in the evening I found a beautiful pair of elk antlers, the finest on the boat. We have made but little progress during the day, but at last are out of sight of the Round Butte. In the evening we played cards. We are all getting disgusted at our slow progress, as we expected by this time to be at Fort Union, and as the river is continually falling, there is no telling when we may reach St. Louis.

July 24

Yesterday we sailed along very well and passed the Dry

Fork in the morning. Here the river was pretty bad but we got through without much difficulty. We had almost reached Milk River when at about two o'clock we ran on a sand bar and had the pleasure of remaining there for twenty-four hours. Yesterday afternoon I went on shore and procured several *baculites* and shells; the latter seemed to be very abundant, but I had no time to look for them. This morning we went on shore again. I walked over to the Milk River and imagined the muddy water was a little lighter yellow and creamy colored. We hunted all through the woods and prairie but got nothing. I saw a young deer and a wolf but could not get a shot at either. Another party went on the other side of the river and succeeded in killing a buffalo and afterwards another was killed from the boat. The second shot fired broke his back and afterwards he was killed by a ball in the head. In the evening we saw a bear swimming which was also shot at but not killed. I did not shoot at either of the last, as my gun was not loaded and my arm was a little sore. After starting about three o'clock, we made a good sail 'till nine o'clock. Last evening it was quite cool and pleasant and this evening is the same.

July 25

We were detained only a few hours by sand bars, and in the evening reached Fort Kipp, where we found one of the party who had been lost in coming up the river. Just above the Fort we saw a wild swan, the first we have met with. It was quite tame and though fired at did not fly far. The mosquitoes were intolerable here all night. Early in the morning of *July 26*, we left the Fort and at about eleven o'clock we arrived again at Fort Union, after three weeks absence. Here we found our friend Lord Grosvenor who with three others had been left behind when attempting to cross the bend on foot.⁶¹ They had returned to Fort Berthold and procured horses to travel to Fort Union, but these had been stolen by the Sioux who afterwards also robbed them of their blankets and some of their clothes. They then joined a hunting party of Gros Ventres and travelled with them for two days and then proceeded to Fort Union on foot, where Grosvenor has since been waiting for us. All his baggage was

⁶¹ The original plan had been to proceed overland to the Pacific.

left on the *Spread Eagle* and now he will be obliged to return with us. We learn that the *Spread Eagle* has moved down the river, although orders were given for her to remain near the fort until our return. We left the fort about two o'clock, and after passing the Yellowstone we found the river quite high, with plenty of water. The Yellowstone also was said to be high, though it seemed to me to be low, as the sand bars were very extensive. In the evening we saw an immense herd of buffalo, more than we have seen at any one time together yet, but none were near enough to the river to shoot at. They looked very beautiful as they got the sound of the boat and all ran off as fast as they could. This evening also there are plenty of mosquitoes.

July 27

To-day we have travelled pretty steadily, only for a few minutes on a sand bar, and stopping for about half an hour to take on wood, which had been cut for us by the *Spread Eagle*. Here was a letter for Captain La Barge stating that the steamer had gone still farther down and it is now very doubtful where we shall meet her. This is very provoking to us all, as most of our clothes were left on that boat, and we certainly expected to find her at the mouth of the Yellowstone. I am pretty well off except for pants and shoes. I have only one very much worn pair of pants and I must get some antelope skin to patch them. I wore out my shoes some time ago and am now reduced to moccasins, though I have a pair of boots on the *Spread Eagle*. I have plenty of shirts and underclothes, while most of the others are scant. In the afternoon we passed White Earth River, which is the most northern point of the Missouri, and at night laid up at the lower end of the great bend.⁶² This evening it is quite cool, though there are still a few mosquitoes. This evening we saw one bear, and afterwards another with three cubs, all of which, however, soon ran into the bushes without waiting to be shot at.

July 28

To-day it is just two months since we left St. Louis, though

⁶² In North Dakota.

we have gone through such a variety of scenes that it seems more like two years. Last evening just as we intended to come to shore we ran on a sand bar, which we were unable to get off of 'till this morning, and as there was a heavy fog, we did not start down the river 'till about half past seven. We have passed the Little Missouri and have seen two buffalo bulls, which will probably be the last we shall meet, and in an hour (it is now nearly eleven) we shall be at Fort Berthold. I forgot to say that yesterday we passed a large camp of the Gros Ventres or Minetares on the bank of the river, just returning from hunting buffaloes, at which they have been engaged for the last three weeks. So we shall not find many at the Fort. This morning we saw two or three white swan on the river. We reached the Fort at about half past eleven and remained there 'till two. As we expected, the Indian village was deserted, with the exception of about half a dozen, and everything was quiet as compared with our former visit. So we took advantage of the absence of the Indians and went to their burying ground, where three of us procured a skull each, and it would have been easy to have obtained others, only as they had to be concealed from the Indians, it was difficult to carry many. I covered mine with my coat, and so hid it 'till I could put it in my trunk. Here we heard a report of a fight between the Rees and Sioux. We expected to reach Fort Clark the same night, but just after tea we got on a sand bar where we lay 'till morning.

July 29

About six-thirty o'clock we arrived at Fort Clark. Here we found the previous report to have been true. A party of Rees were out hunting buffalo when they were set upon by a war party of Minikanye Sioux, about five hundred warriors. The Rees carried their women and children to a point of timber, but meanwhile the Sioux destroyed all their camp. They, however, succeeded in driving off the Sioux, with a loss, it is said, of about ten Rees killed and several wounded, and twenty-five or thirty Sioux fell. The Rees are said to be the bravest Indians on the prairie, but their numbers are so small that they are in constant fear of their more numerous enemy. I did not see any of the wounded, but some of the other young men did. Many of the men were in

mourning for relatives slain. Their mourning dress is white paint. Two had white painted around their eyes like spectacles, and others had white on different parts of the body. Besides being great warriors, the Rees are noted for being superior in thievery, and after we left we found that there were several losses from their incursion. One passenger, Mr. Weber, lost a coat; two or three of the crew lost blankets. A skirt and some socks were taken from the chambermaid who was washing them. Two or three young pine trees had their tops cut off. At first I thought I had lost a small looking glass, but I found it again. So much of our sympathy for their misfortune was changed to a regret that the Sioux had not wiped out the whole nation. During the day we saw several buffalo on the hills, and this I put down as it is rather unusual to meet them below Fort Clark. The Rees and Gros Ventres both raise a good deal of corn, both for their own use and also to trade it to the neighboring nations and also to the whites at the Fort.

July 30

To-day we stopped to wood at an old trading house now abandoned, near Little Soldier's Village. Here I saw a single grave on the hill and found under it a very fine skull which I immediately took off to the boat. It is that of a Yanktonais Sioux, and more complete than can often be picked up on the ground. Here a rattlesnake was killed by one of the men, but its head was knocked off and its skin was broken in other places and it was a female without rattles, so it was of no use to me and I skinned it for Mr. Wimar, who will put it on an Indian bow after their fashion, or something of the kind. The rattlesnake is a sure cure for several diseases. The rattles worn in the hat will cure any headache. Some time ago one of the crew who had a headache, came to me with a rattle in his hat which he had tried to no purpose, and I luckily succeeded in curing his headache. Our captain is now taking down a rattle to cure a friend of his, and as his friend is a lady, *it may* succeed. The skin of the snake is also worn around the body for pains or something of the kind, and yesterday the chamber-maid asked me for the bones. On inquiry I found that they take the small bones of the back, string them like beads, and hang them around

the neck of children who are teething, and then said children will not be subject to convulsions or other diseases incident to that interesting period. Last evening we passed the Cannon Ball River, and this evening came to a little below the Little Cheyenne.

July 31

This morning Mr. Wimar shot an antelope, and we stopped to get it. It had a beautiful little pair of horns—it is called the Prong-horned Antelope—and I was all the morning preparing the head for him. It is now seven o'clock and we are just approaching Fort Pierre. We arrived at Fort Pierre at about eight o'clock and found the *Spread Eagle* had left there on Thursday (28th) previously, and Mr. Galpin, the principal of the fort had gone down in it; so we took on some ice and provisions and attempted to leave immediately, but the wind was pretty high and the river bad, so we had to put up for the night. Four or five Indians came on board and had a talk with Mr. Chouteau; they are Sioux and have just heard the news of the battle between the Sioux and Rees, and are now afraid the Rees are coming down against them, while we left the Rees in fear of an attack from the Sioux. Captain Reynolds' party had been heard from. They had then reached and were going down Powder River and were all in good health.

August 1

We have made a very good run to-day and are more than half way to Fort Randall. We left the Fort early and stopped to take on a supply of cut wood a few miles below, so that we have not cut any to-day. This evening we passed Old Fort Look-out and when we landed, although it was somewhat dark, I went on the hills for some yucca plants. I saw no large ones but a number of small ones, and brought two to the boat.

August 2

This morning at six-thirty o'clock, I was waked by the news that the *Spread Eagle* was in sight, and by the time I was dressed we had come up to her. Yesterday she got on a sand bar and has been stationary since, and the river looks pretty bad. We have all moved on board of her and feel almost at home again. We have here plenty of room and much better accommodations by

far than on the *Chippewa*, of which we are all tired. We found all well and everything in good order, but we have been all day in trying to get off the bar, and at last this evening have succeeded. I walked a little way on the hills and brought home a fine yucca plant, and afterwards took a very pleasant bath. This morning we passed White River and are now just below it.

August 3

To-day we have not made much progress because we have found the sand bars very numerous. To-night just at tea time we reached Fort Randall. There are few Indians here but we went to the Fort and had the pleasure of reading some papers, even the *St. Louis Rep.*⁶³ of the 25th of July (we had full account of the battle of Solferino and partial accounts of the rest of the war, but nothing special from the states).

August 4

We had to take on a number of soldiers from the Fort, and so we did not leave 'till after eight o'clock this morning, and directly after ran on a sand bar, which detained us for more than three hours. The river has fallen a great deal since we were here last, and we have a good deal of trouble in finding the right channel. About two o'clock we came to Redfield's agency.⁶⁴ He is now engaged in paying the Indians for their land in Dakota Territory under the recent treaty. These Yanktons have sold all their lands, with the exception of ten miles square and here the U. S. has engaged to establish a permanent agency and teach them agriculture and some of the mechanical arts. All the neighboring tribes of Indians refuse to allow them on their land and when they come, kill or drive them off. There were a number of Indians assembled here, but we staid only a few minutes and had no time to go ashore. Since leaving Fort Randall the chalk hills have again appeared forming the bluffs on both sides of the river. To-night we lay just opposite to Bonhomme Island and have a horrible number of mosquitoes, so that I am now wearing gloves, which accounts for the writing. This evening we passed the mouth of the Niobrara or L'Eau qui Court River.

⁶³ *St. Louis, Missouri Republican.*

⁶⁴ This was Greenwood or Yankton Agency. Alexander H. Redfield was the first agent and had induced the Indians to settle on the 400,000 acre reservation established by the treaty of 1855.

and at its mouth is the city of Niobrara, the first city on the river. At least there are a few frame houses, even painted white, while the rest of the prairie is laid off in town lots. We passed also several other houses and log cabins, so that we begin to feel as though we were getting home.

August 6

The last two days have been rather tiresome. Yesterday we were on sand bars all day and travelled in all about three miles. To-day it has been very windy and we have passed some hours on sand bars; we have come, however, about twenty-five miles. We stopped two or three times at small settlements, and at about four o'clock we reached the mouth of James River where we have since been lying waiting for the *Chippewa* which ran on a sand bar a little ways higher up the river. We tried to fish this evening in James River, but though we saw plenty of fish and large ones, too, jumping to the surface of the water, they would not bite well, and as there was also a large number of mosquitoes which *did bite*, we soon came back, the mosquitoes are now very bad during the night in the cabin, but on the deck there is generally enough breeze to drive them off. We sleep under nets.

August 9

On the 7th and 8th we were on sand bars almost all the time and made very little progress, so that we are all getting tired, and we have been delayed for some hours to-day from the same cause. This afternoon, however, we have been travelling very well. Before five o'clock we arrived at Sioux City, the commencement of civilization. Here we stopped to procure ice and provisions, but little of the latter was to be had, only fresh pork. As it is somewhat uncertain how much longer we may be on the river, I put a letter in the P. O. for home. We also all went and got a glass of beer, as one of the results of civilization. We left again before tea time and have travelled without any obstruction about twenty-five miles to-night.

August 10

This morning we have come steadily without striking a bar once till now nine-fifteen o'clock. We passed Blackbird's Hill and

saw a few lodges of Omahas on it. The river appears to be much better now, and the channel is very good, so that we hope to make up for lost time and soon to be in St. Louis. Last night we left the *Chippewa* some distance behind, and as ours is the faster boat, we do not expect to see her again 'till she reaches St. Louis, unless we get stuck on a sand bar for some time. P. M. We have travelled over two hundred miles to-day and encamped just above Omaha.

August 11

Just about breakfast time we got in the wrong shoot of the river where there was no water and we were nine hours in getting out again. We passed the mouth of the Platte River just after tea and encamped about fifteen miles below it.

August 12

To-day we have made a good day's sail and arrived at St. Joseph's in the evening. Here our passengers left us to go to St. Louis by land. We lay just below the town all night.

August 13

To-day we have not made a very good journey on account of numerous delays. Before breakfast we had to take on wood, and about eight o'clock stopped at Atchison to put off Lord Grosvenor, who is going across to California by the overland mail through Utah. We were detained at Fort Leavenworth also for some time by our military crew and this afternoon we stopped again at Parkville to put off Mr. Kipp. He is one of the oldest men in the Fur Co. He has been in the Indian country for forty years and is now about retiring. We lay tonight at the village of Napoleon. It has been rainy to-day.

August 14

This morning we got on a snag and according to all accounts the boat just escaped sinking but only got a little water in the hold. We were detained in all about seven hours, so that we cannot reach St. Louis to-morrow. In getting off the snag the rudder broke and this saved us.

August 16

We arrived at St. Louis at one-thirty o'clock P. M.

FROM REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, 1859

Blackfeet Agency,

Fort Benton, July 24, 1859.

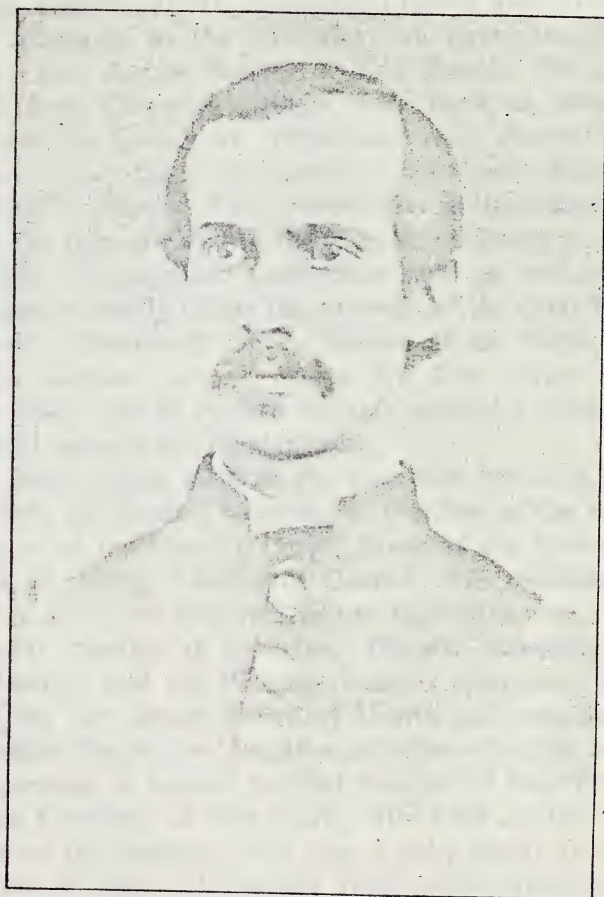
Sir: It having again become my duty, in compliance with the regulations of the Indian department, I would respectfully beg leave to offer the following summary of events and suggestions as my annual report for 1859. The annuity goods apportioned to the Blackfeet nation for the present year were landed, without injury or accident, at Fort Union, on the 2nd July last, by steamer "Spread Eagle," Captain John Labarge, having left St. Louis on the 28th May preceding.

At this point the government freight, consisting of goods for this agency, and supplies for Lieutenant Mullan, together with the usual outfit for the year's trade at Fort Benton, amounting, in the aggregate, to near one hundred and sixty tons, were transferred to the pioneer steamer "Chippewa," and she was immediately dispatched for the head waters of the great Missouri.

Under the immediate guidance and control of the skillful and accomplished captain, John Labarge, ably and assiduously seconded and assisted by the well known energy and good judgment of Charles P. Chouteau, Esq., the projector and prosecutor of the enterprise, the little steamer successfully steamed her way against the unknown current. In due time, the landing of the "El Paso," at the mouth of Milk river, was passed. Sand-bars, snags, rapids, and all the dangers and difficulties incident to the navigation of unknown rivers, were one by one in turn avoided by consummate skill and watchfulness, or successfully encountered and overcome by untiring energy and industry. The shrill piping of the escaping steam had resounded and reechoed among the bold and barren cliffs and bluffs of the silent and sombre "mauvais terres." The little Rocky and Bear's Paw mountains were passed, and still the fearless craft pursued her way up the narrowing stream. At length a shrill whistle pierced the sleeping solitude of the rugged mountains with the first joyous scream of civilization and the gallant "Chippewa" was safely moored to the bank, a few miles below Fort Benton, on the 17th instant. The race was won, the wished-for goal attained, and some six hundred miles added to the already almost interminable navigation of the mighty Missouri, a steamer having successfully breasted the current for a distance of thirty-one hundred miles from the Mississippi. All praise and honor be to the good judgment and fearless enterprise that dictated the trial, and to the unequalled skill and sleepless energy that accomplished the gratifying result. Having deposited her cargo, in good order and well conditioned, on the bank, the boat was headed down stream, and with clamorous cheering and firing of cannon, on the 18th instant, she began to retrace her long and intricate way, homeward bound.

Alfred J. Vaughan, Indian Agent.

To A. M. Robinson, Esq.,
Supt. of Indian Affairs,
St. Louis, Mo.



DR. ELIAS J. MARSH

1864

DR. ELIAS J. MARSH,

the writer of the Journal of the Missouri River trip in 1859, was born in Paterson, New Jersey, August 4, 1835. His father, also Dr. Elias J. Marsh, was of old New Jersey colonial stock, a physician of standing in the state and a founder of the American Medical Association; his mother was a daughter of the Rev'd. Frederick Beasley, D. D., sometime Provost and Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania, and a sister of Chief Justice Beasley of New Jersey. He graduated as A. B. from Columbia College, New York, in 1854, and as M. D. from the College of Physicians and Surgeons, N. Y., 1858, and shortly thereafter settled in St. Louis, Missouri and began there the practice of his profession. In the summer of 1859 he made the trip narrated in the journal, returning to St. Louis in the fall. He remained there until early in 1861, returning to New Jersey shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War. He immediately volunteered for the defense of the Union and was appointed assistant surgeon of the 3rd New Jersey regiment. A few months later he applied for and received a commission in the medical corps of the regular army.

Dr. Marsh spent most of the next four years in the field, chiefly with the cavalry, becoming at the close of the war medical director of the Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac, with the rank of Acting Lieutenant Colonel. He remained in the army until 1870, and then returned to his native city to take up the general practice of medicine. He was attending surgeon at St. Joseph's and the Paterson General Hospitals, first president of the New Jersey Board of Health and president of the State Medical Society, besides other activities. In 1892 he gave up private practice to become medical director of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York. His work on the mortality statistics of the company won him a gold medal at the Paris Exposition of 1900. He retired from active work at the beginning of 1907, and died at his home in Paterson, August 3rd, 1908.

ARRIVAL OF THE SPREAD EAGLE

Missouri River Navigable A Distance Of Over 3,000 Miles From Its Mouth—Fort Benton Reached By The Steamer Chippewa—The American Fur Company, &c.

It has been demonstrated by the enterprise of the American Fur Company that the Missouri River is navigable for steamboats a distance of over three thousand miles from its mouth. The steamer Spread Eagle, in connection with the Chippewa has just completed one of the most remarkable trips on record in the navigation of the Western rivers, having traversed the Missouri River from its mouth to Fort Benton—a point within sixty miles of the headwaters of the Columbia, and three thousand one hundred and twenty miles above the mouth of the Missouri. This is nine hundred miles above the mouth of the Yellow Stone, and seven hundred miles further than any other steamboat has ever been.

The Spread Eagle left St. Louis on the 28th day of May—three days after the Chippewa, and arrived in this port yesterday, at 2 o'clock, p. m., performing a distance of over 6,200 miles in 79 days. The Memoranda of the Chippewa on her up trip have already been published, and nothing of special interest occurred on the down trip of the Spread Eagle. The Spread Eagle left the Chippewa bound down at Sioux City, and that boat will be in port in a day or two. The Chippewa left the mouth of the Yellow Stone on the 3rd day of July, and arrived at Fort Benton on the 17th. She left Fort Benton on the 18th, and caught the Spread Eagle on her down trip at the mouth of White River on the 2nd of August. She took to Fort Benton 130 tons freight, consisting of Indian annuities and the outfit belonging to the American Fur Company.

The Chippewa had very little trouble in ascending the river above the Yellow Stone, excepting on Douphain's Rapids, where they were obliged to haul her through by a line. The Indians were quiet, and expressed themselves well satisfied with their presents. Game above the mouth of the Yellow Stone was very abundant. Large bands of Buffalo, elk and mountain sheep might be seen at any moment, together with any quantity of

grizzly bear. The trip has been demonstrated to be practicable, the Chippewa having made it in low water. One month earlier, she would have had no difficulty in ascending the Rapids before mentioned.

The Spread Eagle had among her passengers a number of mountain men and tourists, together with a company of seventy-three United States troops, under command of Lieutenant Dana and Weeks, from Fort Randall, bound for Fort Ridgley, to join a company of Fourth Artillery quartered at that post. The troops left on the steamer Pembina for St. Paul last evening.

As freight the Spread Eagle had 4,331 packages of buffalo robes and furs, for Pierre Chouteau, Jr. & Co.

Mr. Wimer, a celebrated artist of this city, made the trip on the Spread Eagle, and has replenished his portfolio with a variety of sketches of Indian life, and the wild scenery of the Northwest. Mr. Wimer has been in these regions before and the public are sufficiently acquainted with the productions of his pencil. Mr. Charles P. Chouteau and Capt. Jno. B. LaBarge, both kept journals of the trip, but had nothing prepared for publication. Both these gentlemen deserve great credit for the successful termination of the longest steamboat voyage ever made in the West, and we regret that it is not in our power at the present time to publish a detailed account of it.—*Missouri Republican*, (St. Louis), August 17, 1859.

“Dr. Marsh, a very promising and efficient young gentleman, accompanied us as physician and surgeon for the boat, and aside from the position which he occupied, which he filled with much credit to himself and the profession, we found him a very agreeable and pleasant companion, and, if talent and energy combined may effect anything, we predict for him a future of unbounded success.”—Special correspondent in the *Daily Missouri Republican*, (St. Louis), August 22, 1859.

THE

Dakota Farmer

THE FARMER'S PAPER

The Dakota Farmer is a well-balanced farmers' paper—for Dakota farmers. Its editorial policy is based on the needs and interests of the Dakota farm and farm home. It is unlike any other publication—its publisher does not wish it to be like any other publication. It is for Dakota and Dakota farmers, first, last and all the time.

The Dakota Farmer has no "Editorial Page"—its publisher does not hide behind the Editorial "We". The publisher's opinions are expressed in

Stray Shots

By W. C. ALLEN

—"and on this page I'm going to say just what I think, and just as I think it"—

"The Home" is one of the strongest departments in the paper—and why not? "There's a home on every farm," was a frequent saying of M. F. Greeley, for many years editor of The Dakota Farmer. "The Home" is under the direction of Mabel Sensor who, like the publisher, has been "on the job" a third of a century.

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SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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1861—DAKOTA'S DIAMOND JUBILEE—1936

The year 1936 marks the 75th anniversary of the creation of Dakota Territory. The capital cities of the Territory—Yankton, South Dakota, and Bismarck, North Dakota—are planning appropriate celebrations to mark the event.

At Yankton the week of June 7-13 is set aside as the time for a special observance. Historical markers will be dedicated with formal ceremonies. An elaborate pageant will be presented each evening during the week, depicting selected episodes in the history of Dakota. The pageant will be produced by Yankton College and will be staged in the beautiful Garden Terrace theatre. Dr. G. H. Durand, of Yankton College, and Joseph Mills Hanson, pioneer Dakota author, are collaborating in the preparation of the text of the pageant.

PIONEER DAYS FESTIVAL

by Edna LaMoore Waldo

History will march again on the Upper Missouri this summer when Bismarck, second and last territorial capital of old Dakota, observes the diamond jubilee of the territory and the 60th anniversary of the Custer Battle at the Little Big Horn. Combining both observances with a mammoth air show and Fourth of July celebration previously scheduled, the North Dakota capital city will offer three full days of historical pageantry and entertainment on July 3, 4, and 5.

Every resource of natural setting and historic interest will be used to enhance the re-enactment of explorers' passing, Indian treaties and battles, the coming of the military, and the growth of settlements. Mandan earth lodges on the Fort Lincoln or Slant village site and above, at Looking Man's village, have been restored by C.C.C. labor and on the brow of a commanding

bluff overlooking the great Missouri valley for many miles, the block-houses and stockades of old Fort McKean have been rebuilt. Some restoration is planned for this summer on the site of Fort Abraham Lincoln, south of McKean, from which Lieut.-Col. George A. Custer, the most glamorous figure in the Army of his generation, marched away to his fate on the Montana hills. The new North Dakota state capitol will provide a majestic background for out-of-door exercises to follow a great historic parade, in which floats will carry out a chronological transportation theme.

At sunset on the evening of the first day—historical events are confined to July 3—a short historical pageant will be given on the old fort site across the river from Bismarck, showing, if present plans are carried out, the actual departure of Custer and the 7th Cavalry for the western expedition from which they never returned. To the strains of "Garryowen" and "The Girl I Left Behind Me", the long lines of horsemen, infantry, wagons, and Indian scouts will once more wend their way up the little draw through which their counterparts marched sixty years ago and the echoing bugles from the hills into which they have disappeared will bring back the last memory of their passing.

On the general committee preparing for the celebration are Frank Milhollan of the Bismarck Tribune, chairman; Former Governor George F. Shafer; Governor Walter Welford; George F. Will, Indian authority; Fred L. Conklin; Russell Reid of the N. Dak. Historical society; Mrs. F. H. Waldo, writer; Fred Peterson, Dakota pioneer, and R. H. Penwarden, Jr., representing the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The historic parade is in charge of Mr. George F. Will; the pageant will be managed by Mrs. Waldo. On the latter committee will serve Jacob Horner, who left Fort Abraham Lincoln with Custer that historic morning in May, only to be sent back from the Powder River because there were not horses enough to go around. Other descendants of territorial pioneer families, many of whom lived near the old fort when it was occupied by Custer and the 7th, and Mrs. Joseph S. Leonard, wife of the present commandant of the newer Fort Lincoln at Bismarck, are assisting with pageant plans.

DAKOTA

By Hamlin Garland

I

Land of a sea-like drift of plain,
 With hills on her western border-land,
 Where men delve under the rock-based fir,
 Eager to grasp at her golden sand;
 Seat of an empire, broad and free,
 With hights where the buffalo range at will,
 And peopled prairies where brave hearts thrill
 To the century's power and prophecy.

II

I stood one day on a prairie hight
 And looked far out on a misty sea,
 Of mid-day grasses lying asleep,
 As silent as dim futurity.
 No voice in all that wide careen
 Of soundless surf and upflung swell
 That broke a-bloom; no trace was seen
 Of hand of man—no shadow fell.

No sign of life save a shadowy wolf
 Who sat like sentinel still as stone;
 Or sailing hawk whose shadow's flight
 Was not more silent than his own.
 Far away in the north a dim sun-lake
 Lay silver-white; while down from the sky
 That was blue as an eye and deep as the sea
 Fell the unseen heron's echoing cry.

Along the deep-worn crooked trails
 The blue-joint waved and roses spread
 Their tender bosoms to the west-wind's lip;
 Shaken no more by the wild herd's tread.
 Silent, majestic, lone as the seas
 Round the southern pole, the land unmete,
 Awaited the ploughman's stern degrees
 To laugh into plenty beneath his feet.

III

I stood again on the self-same mound
Of swelling turf, three years between,
And, lo! the land was a-hum with sound
Of men and of reapers as sickles keen
Swept into the drowsy headed wheat
With clatter and rush and jocund song;
While wide as a sea—green, yellow and brown
The grain fields endlessly rolled along.

Round golden islands, in greener seas
The binder clattered, its shining fists
Of running fingers round portly sheaves
Unweariedly drawing the hempen twists.
Bright cottage roofs, like sails adrift
And tossed on the sweeping swells,
Lent sound of laughter, while distant spires
In the sunset's hush lent sound of Bells.

I felt the thrill of a nation's heart
As north and south and on to the seas
The railway trains shot to and fro
Like waves of blood in arteries;
And lightning lines in their subtlety
Ran here and there like sentient things,
To listen and tell in the settler's ear
The marvelous story the century sings.

IV

This is the work of the pioneer!
Leading the way for the world's advance;
The steel swung strong in their tireless
Hands,

Greater than heroes of old romance.
This is the work of the pioneer!
And this is the mighty march, whose beat
Is heard the whole sad earth around;
Aye, this is the print of their marching
Feet!

DAKOTA'S GOVERNORS SPEAK

GOVERNOR WILLIAM JAYNE, March 19, 1862: Dakota Territory extends from the forty-third to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, and from the ninety-seventh to the one hundred and thirteenth parallel of longitude—embracing an area of country greater in extent than all New England combined with the great states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri.

Occupying the most elevated section of country between the Arctic ocean and the Gulf of Mexico; forming to a great extent the water-shed of the two great basins of North America, the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, and the tributaries of Hudson bay.

Thus within the limits of Dakota are found the sources of rivers running diametrically opposite; those flowing northward reach a region of eternal ice, while those flowing southward pass from the haunts of the grizzly bear and the regions of wild rice, through the cotton fields and the sugar plantations of the southerner, until their waters are mingled with the blue waves of the Gulf.

The general surface of the country east and north of the Missouri, is a beautiful, rich, undulating prairie, free from marsh, swamp, or slough, traversed by many streams, and dotted over with innumerable lakes of various sizes, whose wooded margins, and rocky shores, and gravel bottoms afford the settler the purest of water, and give to the scenery of the territory much of its interest and fascination. West of the Missouri, the country is more rolling, and gradually becomes broken, hilly, and finally mountainous as the western limits are reached and terminated by the Rocky Mountains.

The mighty Missouri runs through the very heart of our territory, and gives us more than one thousand miles of navigable watercourse; thus giving us the facility of cheap water transportation, by means of which we can bear away the surplus products of our rich, luxuriant lands, to southern markets, and receive in exchange the trade and commerce of all climes and lands.

We have, located on the Missouri, Big Sioux, Red river of the North, Vermilion, Dakota, Niobrara, millions and millions of

acres of the richest and most productive lands to be found anywhere within the bounds of the national government.

We have combined the pleasant, salubrious climate of southern Minnesota, and the fertility of soil of central Illinois.

I congratulate you, gentlemen, as the representatives of the people, who are most fortunately and happily located in a portion of this country which possesses within itself all the elements which are necessary to constitute a great, prosperous, and powerful state. Our rich alluvial lands will produce the corn, and the broad prairies the nutritious grasses which are ample to feed and support cattle enough to supply every market in the Union.

The salt lakes in the northern part of the territory, can furnish inexhaustible supplies of the best of salt.

The high rolling prairies south and west of the Missouri, seem especially intended for the herdsmen of sheep, and the growth of wool. The falls on the Big Sioux furnish a motive power sufficient to drive all the machinery of the New England mills.

The Black hills, and the mountain ranges at the sources of the Wind river, Yellowstone, and Missouri, are rich beyond conception in mineral resources of coal, copper, iron and gold.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM JAYNE. Dec. 18, 1862: With a satisfactory adjustment of Indian Affairs, and the end of the rebellion, we shall witness the checked emigration of the past few years, once more spring up, and soon the rich valleys of the Missouri, the Big Sioux, Dakota, Red River, and Niobrara will be crowded with dense settlements, thriving towns, and commercial cities.

GOVERNOR NEWTON EDMUNDS, Dec. 9, 1863: Here free homes are offered by our beneficent Government to actual settlers, in a country unsurpassed in salubrity and purity of climate, and where whole townships, and even counties, of vacant lands are found, as productive as the savannas of the South. There are to-day thousands of men in the Eastern and Middle States that have constantly toiled from year to year for a sub-

sistence for themselves and families, on a few acres of well-worn rented land, and paying, in many cases, a price per acre for the use of such lands per annum, as would secure in our Territory a homestead of one hundred and sixty acres of as fine lands as the sun ever shone upon, every foot of which is susceptible of the highest state of cultivation, at less cost in labor than in any country to be found in the Eastern or Middle States. The small farmers in these States, have only to see these lands and all the surrounding advantages, to appreciate the liberality of the Government, and the great advantage of seeking a home in our Territory, where but a few years of the same industry and economy practiced by them in their Eastern homes, from childhood, would be requisite to make them all comparatively independent, in a pecuniary point of view.

GOVERNOR NEWTON EDMUNDS, Dec. 7, 1864: Of the three campaigns made against these hostile Indians, one, under Gen. Sibley, of Minnesota, in 1863, and two, under Gen. Sully, starting from Sioux City, Iowa, one in 1863, and one in 1864, I am fully convinced that little, if anything, has been accomplished towards the subjugation of them.

These expeditions have been immensely expensive to the Government, and ought, in my opinion, to have brought about more decided results. I am not prepared to say why they were failures; I leave this subject to the War Department, where it properly belongs.

The effect of the continuance of this war upon the prosperity of this Territory has been most damaging and deleterious. It has retarded its settlement and development to an extent unprecedented in the history of the early settlement of any of our Northwestern Territories. It has confined our settlers to narrow limits bordering the Missouri river; and those of necessity have had to confine their operations, for the mutual safety and protection, to little towns at intervals of a few miles, in order to retain possession of the country, it not being safe at any time for the past two years to reside at a distance from the towns by reason of the prevalence of roving bands of hostile Indians, who seem ever present and ready to steal the horses

and stock of our settlers, and kill the owners in cases where resistance is made. Our various settlements can but be looked upon as a picket guard to hold this country until such time as peace can be restored between the Government and these Indians. I believe that a chain of small military posts, crossing the country from Lake Shetek, in the State of Minnesota, intersecting the Missouri river at or near the Crow Creek Agency, located at such convenient distances as to enable the country to be daily patrolled between these posts, will not only afford ample and perfect protection to our settlers, but is all that is required to bring about a speedy and permanent peace; provided, disloyal and unscrupulous men are barred from visiting these Indians, and carrying into their country, whisky, powder and lead, and all articles made contraband by the laws of Congress. Five hundred cavalry, properly distributed at the various posts indicated, under the command of officers who are desirous of protecting the settlements, I believe to be sufficient to afford perfect protection.

GOVERNOR NEWTON EDMUNDS, Dec. 5, 1865: I know of no other State or Territory presenting as great inducements and advantages as are now to be found in this Territory, in the immediate vicinity of fine flourishing towns, on a navigable river, contiguous to good and reliable markets for every species of products raised in this country, with thousands upon thousands of acres of as fine, rich, productive and arable lands, as the sun ever shone upon, not yet in market, but surveyed and subject to settlement and entry under the Homestead Law so generously provided by a beneficent Government, by which every settler who desires it may secure a farm of one hundred and sixty acres, every foot of which is equal in productiveness to the best land to be found in the valley of the Connecticut, Mohawk, or Ohio, for the insignificant sum of twelve dollars. It appears to me that you have only to lay these matters before the people of the Eastern States, or those coming from the old world, in such a light as to show all these advantages, to secure such an influx of Immigration as will in one or two seasons, fill the Valleys of the Missouri, Big Sioux, Vermillion and James

rivers, with an enterprising, intelligent, frugal and industrious population, who will ever after be showering blessings upon your heads for having called their attention in this direction.

GOVERNOR A. J. FAULK, Dec. 4, 1866: Too much cannot be said in favor of the salubrity of our climate, or the fertility of our soil. With the great Missouri river, and its ever increasing trade; with numberless streams flowing through fields of wild but nutritious grasses; with the wonderful water power of the Big Sioux; it cannot be long until these natural advantages must attract the attention of capitalists, or until our Territory is dotted over with farms, groaning with their abundant crops—a garden of fruitfulness, and the abode of a large and growing population. The improvements in farming machinery, which almost dispense with human aid, could no where be more advantageously applied than here. Here, labor, capital and skill, may safely be invested, with a fair promise of ample remuneration. And the Black Hills, with their inexhaustible forests of pine timber, and their shining, auriferous deposits, will yet attract thousands of adventurers and emigrants to cast their lot among us; thus eventually building up towns and cities, where now the wild natives of the forest alone disturb the deep solitude of nature, as they seek their precarious food.

GOVERNOR A. J. FAULK, Dec. 3, 1867: Immigration has added largely to our numbers, and the most favorable evidences of prosperity and increase are springing up everywhere within our borders. I have heretofore expressed unbounded confidence in our natural advantages; in the salubrity of the climate, and the inexhaustible fertility of the soil of Dakota. And others from abroad, also, are beginning more clearly to realize and appreciate these important truths. Within the past twelve months it has been estimated that the population of the Territory has been more than doubled by immigration. A sober, industrious, and intelligent population are coming among us, whose influence and capital are being felt in every department of trade and enterprise, adapted to our present condition and wants.

GOVERNOR A. J. FAULK, Dec. 8, 1868: As all mineral resources are, for the time being, cut off from us, by the formation of the New Territory of Wyoming, and by the action of those in authority, in absorbing our prospective Black Hill wealth in the Indian District alluded to, we are now, therefore, by the force of circumstances, against the latter of which we struggled faithfully, pre-eminently an agricultural Territory. And it would be well to pause here, and reflect on the fact that we have abundant cause of profound gratitude, to the Giver of all Good, for what yet remains in our possession. I think it is not too extravagant to say, that in much of Eastern Dakota, from the Red River of the North to the outlet of the Big Sioux, and thence throughout our boundaries along the Valley of the Missouri and its tributaries, we possess one of the finest agricultural regions on this continent,—with a dry, pure, invigorating and equable climate, in which epidemic or contagious diseases are unknown, and where live stock will subsist well throughout the winter season, with but little attention, and without any expense to their owners. With a proper appreciation of such facts as these, we may well afford to throw aside all unpleasant memories of the past, and fully resolve to apply our energies to the future, which is full of materials for encouragement and hope. With the glorious Homestead and Pre-emption laws on the national statute book, in addition to the advantages named, we have but to practice wisdom and liberality in our legislation; and by every proper appliance hold out all honorable inducements to immigrants to come and occupy our fertile prairies. . . . In all legitimate efforts to encourage the introduction of industrial labor, and to invite capital within our borders. Thus by suitable legislation; by encouraging manufactures and the mechanic arts; the construction and completion of internal improvements; in a word, by well directed industry, intelligence and energy, we may hope to effectually overcome the loss of the Black Hill country; and by building up a flourishing agricultural community, of a much more enduring and substantial kind, we will, at no distant day, on this basis alone, be able to knock at the door of Congress, and obtain admission to the sisterhood of States. And, instead of, as now, drawing our support from the Treasury of the Govern-

ment, we can then contribute our due proportion to the national wealth.

GOVERNOR JOHN A. BURBANK, Dec. 8, 1870: In the conduct of public affairs, I recommend an economy bordering on parsimony. The Territory is yet in its infancy, and though vigorous and promising, it requires only that aid which will promote a natural and healthful growth; and while she remains in her swaddling clothes of claim shanties and partially cultivated settlements, and under the care of the mother government, we should shape our expenditures to the lowest possible fraction.

The present winter will probably be marked by the historian as the crisis for Dakota. The partial failure of crops in sections where the lands are still new and unreclaimed, and the large influx of settlers, coming in many instances without the necessary means of subsistence or the proper safeguards against the severity of our northern climate, may cause, to some extent, privation and discouragement. In the future prosperity of the Territory, however, I have the greatest confidence, and I do not doubt that with the opening of Spring will begin a steady onward march, resulting in the speedy development of our abundant resources; and that another decade will find upon the fertile soil as yet a stranger to the plowshare, the myriad dwelling places of a hardy, vigorous and intelligent people, surrounded by the innumerable blessings bestowed by a kind Providence upon the citizens of a great and free Republic.

GOVERNOR JOHN A. BURBANK, Dec. 3, 1872: Our best emigrant agents are the homestead and pre-emption laws, and these more than all other causes and instrumentalities are inducing emigrants to people our broad and fertile acres. Our territory, with its natural advantages for comfortable homes, easy cultivation of the soil and prolific crops, has become so well known to our emigrant producing states, and in Europe, especially to those wishing to better their condition in life by a permanent settlement in a free and productive country, that the filling up and development of our territory by a thrifty population, seems but a little way in the future—if we may

judge by the significant promises of the present in the steady tide of settlers who are quietly and surely extending over our fertile prairies.

GOVERNOR JOHN L. PENNINGTON, December 7, 1874: The future wealth of Dakota must depend largely upon the products of the soil, as the pursuits of our population are mainly agricultural. The soil is generally fertile and well adapted to the growth of wheat, barley, oats, rye, potatoes, etc., while fruit and vegetables may be raised in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of the people; but the main reliance for wealth, especially to our farmers, is in the growth of wheat. Our climate and soil enables us to produce wheat which makes a flour that is unsurpassed in the markets of the world, and already has Dakota flour attained such a reputation for superior excellence, in the eastern markets, that it commands a much higher price than any other brand, if we except possibly that made from Minnesota wheat; and notwithstanding the rapid growth of our population and the increased production of wheat, it is impossible to supply the demand.

Success in agriculture gives to a people vitality, activity and profit in all the other avocations and pursuits, and I earnestly invoke the fostering care of the law-making power for the aid and protection of the tillers of the soil.

GOVERNOR WM. A. HOWARD, Jan 14, 1879: Our abundant and varied resources developed and to be developed, show that Providence has placed here an exuberance of all those physical conditions necessary to the formation, growth, and maintenance of a great and prosperous community, and whether these elements of statehood shall ultimately be formed into one or more states, their number and volume have greatly increased and are still increasing, and the process of crystalization has already begun. Some clear ideas of what should characterize an organized community or a free state would seem to be necessary and appropriate before we lay aside our territorial swaddling clothes.

GOVERNOR NEHEMIAH G. ORDWAY, Jan. 12, 1881: The two years that have elapsed since the last Legislature convened have been years of enexampled prosperity in every section of the Territory. Our population has nearly doubled, and our taxable property, when all has been brought into the Assessor's list, will show a corresponding increase; the yield of gold and silver from the mines in the Black Hills has continued unabated, and science and mechanical skill have aided the miners in that section to bring from the lowest depths, the finest gold to be found in the world; the agricultural development has been unprecedented, and there is not a people in Europe that has not been furnished with flour milled from Dakota wheat; and to-day our broad prairies are crowned with imperishable renown as the future granary of the world. For the specific amount of Dakota's various productions, you are respectfully referred to the report of the tenth census, soon to be published and distributed.

GOVERNOR NEHEMIAH G. ORDWAY, Jan. 10, 1883: In this connection I may be pardoned for suggesting that in view of the near approach to Statehood, it would be well to take up the public business early in the session, carefully revising all doubtful enactments, and so adjusting the laws of the Territory that no member in either House of Congress can justly make our laws a cause for substantial objection to Statehood.

GOVERNOR GILBERT A. PIERCE, Jan. 14, 1885: There are plenty of people all over the land who have witnessed the marvelous development of this Territory with pride and admiration, and whose hearts beat quicker at this grand illustration of the possibilities of a new State growing up under the fostering care of the great republic. They are not residents but neither are they strangers to you. They have appreciated your trials and rejoiced in your success. I came to you myself from another State, yet I did not feel alien to this people, and where disappointment might have been natural, they accepted cheerfully the action of the constituted authorities and exhibited a laudable desire to co-operate with me in whatever seemed necessary to

the furtherance of the public interests. But the day of tutelage is past. I realize fully that the time has come when the people of Dakota should speak and act and decide for themselves; and I cannot but believe when the Congress of the United States fairly understand, as one who resides here must understand, the justice of heeding the appeals of this great Territory, a prompt, cordial and general recognition will be extended to her. Till then it is our part as good citizens to abide in peace and patiently await the action of the government. I am sure, however, that Congress will listen with that respectful consideration which each member of the national body expects to receive for his own people to the candid representations of this legislative assembly, speaking by the authority of the people of the Territory and asking justice at the hands of the Union they honor and obey.

GOVERNOR GILBERT A. PIERCE, Jan. 12, 1887: The late election shows that Dakota has a population considerably in excess of half a million. The territory is filled with that most staid and permanent of all classes, an agricultural population. It expends two millions annually for schools. It has expended more than \$600,000 in the erection of permanent buildings for territorial institutions. It has 3,500 miles of railway and 300 newspapers. It has 1,000 postoffices and pays \$500,000 annually into the postoffice department alone. In all that goes to make up a great commonwealth it is ahead of a dozen of the old states of the Union. It maintains its credit; it pays its debts; it contributes thousands upon thousands to the National Treasury. Its people are law-abiding and God-fearing. No army is required to maintain public order. No police are needed to protect citizens in the enjoyment of their prosperity. Respectfully, her people have petitioned for recognition by congress. Year after year they have seen that body meet and adjourn without action, and this in the face of that ordinance declaring that when any territory possesses 60,000 people it shall be admitted into the sisterhood of states. I do not doubt but that the blessings of statehood are magnified as the disadvantages of a territorial condition are exaggerated. But that does not matter. The people of Dakota are entitled to admission. No

one denies it; no one questions it. Upon what hypothesis or ground of reasoning the application is denied, it is difficult to conceive; on the ground of policy it is a blunder; on the ground of partisanship it is something worse. We have seen people fighting to get out of the Union amid the protests of the National Government; it is a novel sight to see 500,000 people struggling to get into the Union without being heeded or recognized. The excuse sometimes heard that there is doubt as to whether the people desire one state or two is not valid. If congress cares to know the opinion of Dakota, let an enabling act be passed with a clause submitting this question to a vote; all doubt will then be dispelled. At least give her an opportunity to be heard.

GOVERNOR LOUIS K. CHURCH, Jan. 9, 1889: The unsurpassed development of the Territory has necessarily led to large increase of government expense. I am of the opinion that the public welfare will in no instance be promoted by an appropriation for any new institutions, or for improvements or additions to present institutions. On the assembling of the last Legislature some of our institutions were not completed, others were not completed to the extent necessary to place them in condition for the object intended. The asylums undoubtedly needed enlarging; the Madison Normal School had been destroyed by fire and rebuilt under the encouragement that an appropriation therefor would not meet with Executive disfavor. This condition of affairs does not now exist; all of our institutions are completed and as completed are ample for the needs of the Territory, or future state, or states, for some years to come.

I earnestly recommend a most rigorous scrutiny in matters of appropriation.

GOVERNOR ARTHUR C. MELLETTE, Oct. 25, 1889: Dakota is pre-eminently an agricultural region. Almost its entire area is susceptible of cultivation, and those portions not adapted to the plow are available for grazing. In no other country of the world are there larger areas of fertile land, level as a floor, easily worked, and as fruitful as the valley of the Nile.

As in all new agricultural regions the production of wheat has been the leading industry. With fertile lands upon which

wheat can be raised at a cost of from 24 to 36 cents per bushel, varying with the extent of the farming, the results of agriculture in favorable years have been almost certain.

In 1860, when the development of the Territory began, less than 1,000 bushels of wheat were raised. In 1870 the crop aggregated 170,662 bushels; in 1880, 2,830,289; in 1885, 38,166,413 bushels, while in 1887 the wheat crop reached, according to estimate of the National Department of Agriculture, 52,406,000 bushels, and according to the estimate of the Territorial statistician, 62,553,499 bushels.

The yield of corn in 1885 was 7,800,593 bushels; two years later, in 1887, the yield had increased more than 300 per cent., and, as reported to the Territorial statistician, amounted to 24,511,726 bushels, a crop larger than that of Minnesota, Michigan, or any one of more than a dozen States. The wheat crop of 1888, according to the estimate of the commissioner of immigration, was 37,763,847 bushels against 38,036,000 as estimated by the statistician of the Department of Agriculture, Washington. The corn crop, according to the authorities above mentioned, was 19,068,680 and 18,816,000, respectively.

DR. WILLIAM JAYNE

Dr. William Jayne, one of the last of the men of Lincoln's day, one time governor of the territory of Dakota and for half a century prominent in the life of Springfield and the affairs of the State of Illinois, died March 20, 1916, at his home, 507 Enos Avenue, Springfield, at the advanced age of 89 years.

Robust, healthy and active all his life, Dr. Jayne had the misfortune to suffer more bodily pain during the last few months of his life than he probably did at any time before. Last January he slipped on an icy sidewalk and broke a hip. A nervous breakdown followed, and injury and illness depressed his last days.

Dr. Jayne was one of that cycle of men, for the most part political leaders, who were brought to the fore of public life by the stirring events and issues of Lincoln's day. He was of the coterie of which the late United States Senator Cullom was a good representative.

Many men who had a sidewalk speaking acquaintance with Abraham Lincoln, latterly have emphasized their "intimate acquaintanceship" with the martyred president, Dr. Jayne was not one of these. He was truly an intimate of Lincoln, but he never used this fact, which he held an honored privilege, to bring him favor at any time or place. He stood on his own merits alone.

Starting life as a professional man, he later served his country in those early days when the infant middle west needed men of his high ability and impartial judgment.

He was well known nationally to the last generation. To Springfield he has always been an intimate acquaintance. Born here and educated in the public schools, he resided here all his life, and somehow his life was woven into the very fabric of the city.

For forty years, and up until his death, he was a director in the First National Bank, and in his business activity he left many pleasant impressions and gathered life-long friends. He did not retire from active business until recently.

As an intimate acquaintance expresses it, "Anything you can say of Dr. Jayne will be good, and you can't say too much for him." The story of his life is a sermon rather than a biography.

He fulfilled the ideals of service and completeness of life. Governor of the Dakota Territory, delegate to Congress from that Territory, pension agent for Illinois, State senator, mayor of Springfield four terms, member of the commission to complete the present State Capitol Building, member of the Board of Education, president of the Library Board, acting president of the State Board of Charities, he served long and well through them all.

He is survived by one son, William S. Jayne, and six grandchildren, Perry Jayne, Mrs. George A. Fish, Louis P. Jayne, Margaret Jayne, Elizabeth Kuechler, all of Springfield, and William Jayne Kuechler, of Chicago, and two great grandchildren, William Louis Jayne and Margaret Ellen Jayne.

Dr. Jayne was on numerous occasions called upon to fill positions of high honor and trust. Perhaps no man in Springfield had so extensive a knowledge of past conditions,

political or financial. His mind was a veritable mine of information.

William Jayne was born October 8, 1826, in Springfield, a son of Dr. Gershom and Sibyl Slater Jayne. This branch of the Jayne family may be traced back to William Jayne, who was born in Bristol, England, January 25, 1618, served in the army of Oliver Cromwell, and after the restoration of Charles II to the throne, came to America. He died March 24, 1714, and was buried at Setauket, Long Island. His son, William, the second in descent, was born March 23, 1684, and was the father of Isaac Jayne, born November 22, 1715. Jonathan Jayne of the fourth generation was born March 4, 1758, and his son, Gershom, born in Orange County, New York, October 15, 1791, was the father of Dr. William Jayne.

Dr. Gershom Jayne was educated in New York, where he practiced medicine until 1820. In this year he came to Illinois, his route being down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh, by flatboat. He spent six months in southern Illinois, before permanently locating in Springfield, then a place of but a few cabins, known as Calhoun. He began to practice medicine here when there was not a physician north of him in the State. Traveling on horseback in the frontier district, he successfully practiced his profession for forty-seven years. He lived seventy-five and one-half years and his wife to the age of seventy years. Her maiden name was Sibyl Slater and she was the daughter of Elizabeth and Elijah Slater. Her grandfather lived to be ninety years of age. Doctor Jayne's sister, Julia Maria, acted as bridesmaid to Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, and later became the bride of Lyman Trumbull; Captain Henry, a brother, served five years in the Union Army during the Civil War. Mary Ellen, a sister, died unmarried.

In 1860 Doctor Jayne was elected State senator for the district comprising Sangamon and Morgan counties for four years, but resigned in 1861 to accept an appointment from President Abraham Lincoln, to the position of first territorial governor of Dakota. At one time he was a delegate to Congress from that Territory. He served as governor two years but later returned to Springfield.

In 1869 he was appointed by President Grant to the position of pension agent for Illinois and served four years. Later he was appointed by Governor Oglesby as one of the commission to complete the new State Capitol and in this was associated with George Kirk and John McCreery, the latter now deceased.

In this work Dr. Jayne was much interested. He had charge of the finishing of the beautiful State Library Room, and personally selected the names of the American authors whose heads are shown in relief on the splendid bronze fronts of the book stacks in the Library.

Beside his duties connected with State and national offices Dr. Jayne was active in municipal affairs. He served as mayor of Springfield in 1859 and was again elected in 1876, 1877 and 1882. He has been a member of the Board of Education, President of the Library Board and President of the State Board of Charities. For many years he was vice-president of the First National Bank and was one of its directors since 1875.

Dr. Jayne could always gather a crowd of the younger generation about him when he began telling of the life of Springfield when this city was but a straggling little village. He often told of the time when the business of the city was carried on in Jefferson Street, and there was not a business building fronting the square. The old whipping post was used in the days when he was young and he often saw a man given lashes for misconduct.

To his many friends Dr. Jayne often told of the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln. Together with a party of Springfield men, including the late Judge James H. Matheny, Dr. Jayne went to Washington at the time of the inauguration and remained there several weeks. He attended the inaugural ball of Lincoln on the evening of March 4, 1861.

Telling of the inauguration in later years, he said:

"Stephen A. Douglas sat at Lincoln's left and Col. E. D. Baker, who was later killed in battle at Ball's Bluff, Virginia, at his right. When Lincoln looked around for a place to put his hat, Douglas took it and held it while the President spoke. James Buchanan arrived in the carriage with Lincoln. Chief Justice Taney introduced Lincoln and administered the oath of office."

Dr. Jayne was united in marriage in October, 1850, at Jacksonville to Julia Wetherbee, who was born in Vermont in 1830 and died in March, 1877. She was a daughter of Seth and Elizabeth Wetherbee, natives of the Green Mountain State, who came to Illinois and Morgan County in 1834. Several children were born to Dr. and Mrs. Jayne. Only two, however, lived to maturity. William S., born in October, 1851, who was united in marriage in 1875 to Margaret E. Palmer, daughter of Governor John M. Palmer, but who died in May, 1903, leaving four children—Perry, Louis, Susan and Margaret. Lizzie S., a daughter, was born in July, 1855. She was married in October, 1878, to C. F. Kuechler and she died in 1902. She left two children, Bessie and William Jayne Kuechler.

Dr. Jayne was a recognized authority on matters of a political nature and many reminiscences of political history can be found in several articles that he wrote under the title "Political Representation."

Dr. Jayne attended such schools as were available in Springfield in his childhood and youth and was prepared for college under a private tutor and entered Illinois College at Jacksonville in 1843, and was graduated in 1847 with the degree of B. A. and afterwards he received the degree of M. A. He was one of the founders of the Phi Alpha Society and its first president. The Society was founded September 25, 1845, by seven young men of the college. These founders of the society in after years delighted to return to the college at reunions, and they were most cordially received and highly honored. Dr. Jayne was the last of these seven men who founded the society. At his funeral representatives of the college and society were present and a beautiful wreath which was their gift bore the name "Phi Alpha."

Three of Springfield's oldest and most respected citizens, men whose acquaintance with Dr. William Jayne extended over periods ranging from more than three score to over four score years, paid tributes to his memory. Of the three, the one who had known Dr. Jayne longest is Dr. George Pasfield. Both Dr. Jayne and Dr. Pasfield were born in Springfield, the latter being now in his eighty-fifth year.

The others are William Ridgely, president of the Ridgely National bank, now 76 years of age and John W. Bunn, president of the Marine bank, whose acquaintance with Dr. Jayne began in the early fifties.

"William Jayne and I went to school together as boys," Dr Pasfield said. "The friendship formed between us in those early days has continued unbroken down to his death. I regret to see him pass away, as he was one of the few friends in Springfield that are left to me.

"He was a good man and always did his duty, standing by his friends at all times. Never in his long life was he addicted to a bad habit, and his life story may be told in the statement that he was true to his friends and to his word. Once a promise was given it was kept.

"In the business and political life of Springfield he was particularly active. A life long Republican, he was fond of politics and public speaking and always went to assemblages, making it a point to hear the great men of the country deliver their public opinions. To the extent of his means he always contributed to enterprises of advantage to the city.

"In his activities in politics, through his service to the city as mayor, as a state senator, territorial governor of the Dakotas and a territorial delegate in congress for one term, his one desire was to have his deserving friends taken care of. With many of the leading men of the nation, he was personally and intimately acquainted. Largely connected with prominent families of the east, politically and financially, he never took advantage of his kin to gain prestige."

John W. Bunn said: "His public and private life was clean and he was a man who always did his part toward the upbuilding of the city. My acquaintance with Dr. Jayne began in the early fifties, and our relations since that time have been close and pleasant. An intimate friend of Lincoln, early in Mr. Lincoln's first administration he was honored with appointment as territorial governor of the Dakotas.

"He was a fairly successful business man, but failed to grasp many of the opportunities offered him in early life through his intimacy with men of affairs in public and private life."

"I have known Dr. Jayne all my life," said Wm. Ridgely. "He was a lovable character, and he became more likeable as he grew older. While I never knew him intimately, I saw and knew much of his home and public life. In all his dealings with men he was fair and kept his word whenever it was given." —From: Journal of Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. 9, No. 1, April, 1916.

THE RESTLESS BOUNDARIES OF DAKOTA

The boundaries of Dakota Territory, fixed by the Act of March 2, 1861, embraced the region now comprising the Dakotas and much of Wyoming and Montana. The western limit was the boundary of Washington Territory which had previously been the eastern boundary of Oregon Territory—the crest of the Rocky Mountains. Two years and a day later, March 3, 1863, Idaho Territory came into existence and Dakota Territory was shorn of all its area except that comprised in the present states of North and South Dakota.

Montana Territory was created by Congressional Act on May 26, 1864, and practically all of the present state of Wyoming was attached to Dakota Territory, which retained this enlarged area for four years and two months. Upon the establishment of Wyoming Territory on July 25, 1868, the area of Dakota Territory reverted to the limits of 1863. In 1882 the region between the Keya Paha, Niobrara and Missouri rivers and south of the forty-third parallel of latitude was transferred to the state of Nebraska. After this slight change Dakota Territory remained unmolested until statehood was won on November 2, 1889.

THE SETTLEMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF DAKOTA*

By HAROLD E. BRIGGS

Writings on Dakota history up to the present have been largely political in nature. This study stresses not only the settlement and economic development of the territory but also attempts to give the reader a glimpse of the life of the Dakota pioneer. The period covered is approximately from 1860 to 1890.

Although various land and townsite companies were active in southeastern Dakota in 1857 and 1858, permanent legal settlement was not possible in that region until the formal withdrawal of the various Sioux tribes in July, 1859. The only settlement at that time in the Red River Valley was at Pembina. By 1860 settlements had been definitely established along the Missouri, Big Sioux, Vermillion, James, and Red Rivers and there was a tendency for these frontier communities to grow and expand. The population of the region subsequently included in the Territory of Dakota was 4,837, the most important towns being Sioux Falls, Vermillion, Yankton, and Pembina. But as yet these pioneer districts lacked laws and local government, without which they could not hope to develop. The greatest need of the Dakota settlements in 1860 was the organization of a territorial government.

After considerable activity and agitation on the part of the Dakota settlements, a bill creating the territory was signed by the President on March 2, 1861. William Jayne of Springfield, Illinois, appointed as territorial governor, arrived in Dakota in May and chose Yankton as the capital. In the fall of 1861 there were eleven post offices in the territory.

Although the homestead act became a law about this time, settlement of the Dakota area was slow. There were several reasons for this. With the Civil War came serious Indian troubles in the Dakota region which not only tended to keep out new settlers, but caused many of the older settlers to leave. The existence of much good government land farther east, lack of transportation facilities, the prevalence of drouth and grass-

*From a dissertation directed by Professor Louis Pelzer

hoppers, all worked against immigration. There was fear of the lack of timber except along the streams. The military authorities opposed and discouraged settlement by reporting the soil and climate unfit for agriculture. Writers depicted Dakota as a land of blizzards and Indians, drouth and grasshoppers. As late as 1866, George Catlin, a writer of some note, stated that the Dakotas were a part of that region known as the great plains, "which is, and ever must be, useless and unfit for civilized man to cultivate." The population of the Big Sioux Valley in 1868 was less than it had been in 1858.

In spite of the many factors and adverse conditions reacting strongly against settlement in the territory during the early sixties, some influences tended to favor immigration to that area. The provisions of the homestead act were liberal, while some refused to admit that the climate and soil of Dakota were unfit for agriculture even when conditions were at their worst. Surveyor-General George D. Hill at Yankton in his first report to the Secretary of the Interior in 1862, spoke favorably concerning the soil and climate of Dakota. The coming of a New York colony to Dakota in 1863 and the creation of a territorial board of immigration gave favorable publicity to the territory.

Most of the settlement of the Dakota area took place during two boom periods. The first began in 1868 and terminated in 1874, while the second, or "Great Dakota Boom," when the largest addition in population was made, was inaugurated in 1878 and ended in 1886 and 1887. Between these periods of rapid settlement the population increased but little, and sometimes not at all. Each of the booms was produced largely by railroad expansion and a series of wet years, and each was terminated by poor crops due to drouth and grasshoppers.

General conditions were favorable in 1868 for settlement. The five year period beginning in 1868 was one of prosperity throughout the United States. Every line of business felt the stimulus of war tariffs and high prices. Crops were good in 1867 and 1868, and several favorable treaties had been made with the Indians. The best government land had been taken in Iowa and Minnesota and it was necessary for the prospective farmer to go farther west to find a desirable location. In 1868 the Sioux

City and Pacific Railroad was completed to Sioux City, Iowa, thus placing railroad connections with the east within four miles of the eastern line of Dakota and bringing the territory within two days travel of Chicago. Considerable money had been expended on government wagon roads while land and real estate agents were active. Prices for articles purchased by the farmer were not high and his products brought a fair price. Taxes were not heavy and there was a demand for all kinds of labor.

The census for 1870 shows a population of 14,181 in Dakota, of which six-sevenths resided in the Missouri River Valley in the southeastern portion of the territory. The early settlers were of three classes: those who had been unfortunate in business and desired to make a new start in life; young men, impatient with the conservatism of the older communities, who came west for a better opportunity to make a livelihood; and soldiers who took advantage of the homestead privileges. The early settlements of Dakota had all the characteristics of frontier life.

The boom which began in 1868 ended in 1873, and the period from 1873 to 1877 was one of rather pronounced economic depression throughout the nation. Grasshoppers appeared in enormous swarms in the mid-western region in 1874-76. They destroyed the crops and left many of the farmers destitute. In addition to these hardships the winter of 1874-1875 was very severe. By 1877 conditions began to improve and the Black Hills gold rush paved the way for the "Great Dakota Boom" in 1878-1886. During those years much of the Territory of Dakota was settled and what a few years before had been an almost uninhabited expanse of prairie, became a fairly populous region soon to be divided and admitted into the union as two states.

The causes for the boom were numerous. The abundant moisture for several years suggested a humid climate. Extensive railroad expansion furnished transportation facilities to the various sections. But the railroads supplied far more than that. They printed pamphlets for free distribution and published advertisements in newspapers and magazines which described the country and enumerated its advantages. Other sources of advertising were the various land and townsite companies, the

colonizing associations, and the territorial board of immigration. Another potent factor was the rapid occupation of much of the more desirable land farther east and its gradual rise in price accompanied by an increase in taxes. Capital was available at this time for reasonable business ventures.

Settlement was rapid in the early eighties and the population of the territory increased from 135,177 in 1880 to approximately 210,000 in 1882 and to about 330,000 in 1883. In 1880 there were eight land offices operating in Dakota. These were located at Bismarck, Deadwood, Fargo, Grand Forks, Sioux Falls, Springfield, Watertown, and Yankton. Fargo reported the largest number of acres filed upon—722,000. Sioux Falls was second with 498,000. In 1884 Bismarck reported 2,563,534 acres filed upon.

The magnitude of the "Dakota Boom" is indicated strikingly by the following comparisons: During the first five years of the territorial government (1861-1866) only 100,000 acres of government land were filed upon, and by 1870 less than 500,000 acres had been taken. Nearly two-fifths of the entire acreage filed upon in the United States in the year ending June 30, 1883, was in Dakota. This was nearly twice as much land (seven and one-half million acres) as was taken in Minnesota, Nebraska, and Kansas combined. In 1884 there was nearly a sixty per cent increase over the previous year. During the decade ending June 30, 1889, nearly forty-two million acres, nearly half the area of Dakota, were filed upon. By 1887 no free land remained in twenty-two counties, and nine others had only an area of 2,500 acres each, most of which was undesirable.

The growth in population during the boom period shows most clearly the magnitude of the immigration. According to the federal census of 1880, the population of Dakota was 135,177, of which 92,268 were in southern Dakota, including 16,487 in the Black Hills. In 1885 the territory had a population of 415,610, of which 152,199 were located in northern Dakota with 263,411 in the southern section, of whom 14,842 were in the Black Hills. In 1890 the population of South Dakota was 328,808, and that of North Dakota was 182,719, making a total of 501,527. The enumeration for 1880 was made after the

influx was well started, while that of 1890 was made after there had been an exodus due to two or more crop failures and to many disappointments on the part of town builders and speculators. It is therefore impossible to give accurately the total influx to Dakota during the boom period. The rapid invasion of settlers continued for some time after the enumeration of 1885. The Bureau of Immigration estimated that the increase for 1886 was more than 85,000 and that the population on the last day of June 1887 was 568,477. Allowing a liberal deduction for overestimation, the increase over 1880 would be at least 400 per cent. The increase over the estimated population for 1878 would be approximately 750 per cent in about nine years.

Striking as the immigration to Dakota is during this period, when considered in its larger aspects, it may well be illustrated even more vividly in the smaller units. Beadle County in 1880 had a population of 1,290; in 1885 it had 10,318. Brown County in 1880 had 353 inhabitants and only 468 acres under cultivation; by 1885 the population was 12,241, and 248,346 acres of land were being cultivated. Spink County, with a population of 477 in 1880, had 10,446 inhabitants in 1885.

With the year 1885 the high level of the boom passed, although it was not realized at the time. There were several causes for the close of the boom, the chief one being crop failures due to drouth. Railroad expansion had stopped and most of the desirable free land east of the Missouri River had been taken by the summer of 1887. Over speculation in land and failures in business added to the handicaps caused by drouth.

Prior to the creation of the Territory of Dakota, farming operations had been carried on by the white settlers, Indians, and half breeds in the Red River Valley. The census reports for 1860 show 2,146 acres under cultivation. The period from 1862 to 1868 was one of agricultural stagnation in Dakota, the result of drouth, grasshoppers, and Indian troubles. The Civil War also left its burdens upon the Dakota farmer. The period of prosperity from 1868 to 1873 was followed by five years of hard times caused by grasshoppers and the financial depression resulting from the panic of 1873. In addition many homesteaders made reckless by continued prosperity purchased improved

machinery at high prices, often mortgaging their farms at high interest rates. The winter of 1874 and 1875 was exceptionally severe, causing much hardship and privation.

The completion of the Dakota Southern Railroad from Sioux City, Iowa, to Yankton in January 1873 provided the greatest advantage to the farmers of southeastern Dakota. It was now possible to get rid of their surplus agricultural products. The effect of the railroad is shown in the rapid increase in farm products and in the price of land. There were 2,275,000 bushels of wheat produced in the Territory in 1873 as compared with 170,662 bushels in 1870. All of this was raised in southeastern Dakota with the exception of 150,000 bushels. Improved land which sold for \$8 to \$15 per acre in 1870 sold for \$15 to \$30 per acre in 1873. The Northern Pacific Railway was completed to the east side of the Red River of the North in the fall of 1871 and in the summer of 1872 was pushed rapidly toward the Missouri River. Thus transportation facilities were furnished to the farmer of northeastern Dakota.

The life of the pioneer farmer was a hard one, as it was not an easy task to make a home and develop a farm from the raw, pathless prairie, remote from neighbors, without schools or any of the advantages and comforts which the inhabitants of compact settlements enjoy. It was a hero's and almost a martyr's life and it is difficult to estimate properly the trials and discomforts of such an experience without having passed through them. With few social events, infrequent neighborly calls, and only an occasional visiting minister, the prairie dweller led a lonely life.

The period from 1875 to 1889 was one of large wheat farms in the Red River Valley. In 1875 a number of bond holders of the Northern Pacific Railway exchanged their bonds, worth ten cents on the dollar, for a great block of land in the valley region. Other tracts were soon taken over, and in the spring of 1875, Oliver Dalrymple, an experienced wheat grower from Minnesota, entered into a contract with some of the owners to take charge. He broke 1,280 acres during the summer and his first harvest in 1876 yielded 32,000 bushels of choice wheat.

As soon as the results of the experiment became known, there was a rapid shift from mixed farming to large scale wheat

production. The primary reasons for the development of wheat as a single crop were: cheap land in the Red River Valley and the increasing price of land farther east, the composition of the soil, climate, advertising, the demand for American flour, and the invention of labor-saving machinery.

By 1880 the movement had made a good start and by 1885 nearly all of the original "Bonanza Farms" had been established. The census of 1890 shows 323 farms in the Red River region exceeding 1,000 acres, with 1,353 of more than 500 acres. Although the large wheat farms of the Red River country received a great deal of attention during the eighties, their importance was no doubt overemphasized. In fact there was far more land owned and farmed by the small farmers than by the large wheat growers. In Cass County, the very center of the "Bonanza" district in 1880, the farms averaged 325 acres. In 1890 there were in North Dakota 27,611 farms whose size averaged 277 acres. At that time only 8.07 per cent of the farm land of North Dakota was planted to wheat.

The reasons for the decline of the great wheat farms in the early nineties were drouth, economic depression, an increase in the price of land, and a decrease in the price of wheat. While many of the large wheat growers with capital were able for a time partially to overcome these handicaps by more scientific methods, labor-saving machinery, and careful management, a gradual shift from wheat as a single crop to diversified farming was inevitable. The big contribution of bonanza farming to Dakota was advertising.

The period of boom and prosperity which began in 1877 developed in volume from 1878 to 1886 and although wheat continued to be the money crop in the Dakota area, diversified agriculture was the general rule. By reading carefully the territorial newspapers of the late eighties, it is easy to see that by 1886 the best days of the agricultural boom were over and Dakota was entering upon a period of reaction caused largely by drouth. During 1887 and 1888 the drouth was local in nature and did not affect the different parts of the territory with equal severity. In 1889 the lack of rain was widespread throughout the central portion of the United States and severely affected

Dakota. The Dakota farmer was also affected by the general business depression of the time. The crop report for 1890 shows a marked decrease in the yield of all farm products.

The early pioneer farmer of Dakota, fully realizing the importance of stock, combined the raising of cattle and farming operations. The nutritious native grasses, cured to hay during the dry autumn, the presence of much unsettled land allowing free and unlimited pasture, the light snowfall of the average winter, and the ability of stock to travel many miles to market or to shipping points, gave grazing a distinct advantage over cereal farming.

Notwithstanding these favorable factors, the livestock business, involving a considerable investment as well as various improvements in buildings and fences, did not develop rapidly as a separate industry. Mixed farming, in which stock raising formed a prominent part, proved more profitable than either cereal farming or stock raising alone. This type of farming developed rapidly from 1860 to 1870 in southeastern Dakota before that section was served efficiently by a railroad. The Indian agencies and military posts of the territory were excellent markets for beef not needed in the towns and on the farms of the region. The raising of stock gradually became very profitable and capital invested in it often brought a return of fifty per cent per annum. According to the census of 1870 there were in the Territory of Dakota, 56,724 meat cattle.

In the period after the Civil War many cattle were driven "up trail" from the overstocked ranges of Texas in search of markets and new feeding grounds. The first Texas cattle arrived in Dakota in the summer of 1871 and were driven to the southeastern section along the Missouri River. By 1874 and 1875 they were coming in rapidly. Until 1875 no cattle were raised in the territory west of the Missouri River. The Black Hills area was early reported as being favorable for cattle raising and some of the first people going into that region in 1875 took cattle with them. In 1876 the rapid increase of miners and prospectors created a demand for beef and dairy products. By 1878 there were at least 100,000 cattle in the Black Hills area, many of which had been driven from Texas. The Black Hills

Live-Stock Association estimated in the spring of 1884 that there were 500,000 head of cattle in that district and that as many as 200,000 had been marketed in 1883.

By 1878 and 1879 the country north and east of the Black Hills filled up with herds while in the following years the cattle ranges were extended into the Little Missouri region of the northern Badlands. During the years from 1883 to 1885 cattle came into the Little Missouri country very rapidly. They were allowed to run at large during the winter months, no provision being made for feeding. Some sheep and horse ranches existed in western Dakota in the eighties but they were the exception rather than the rule.

In the "Hard Winter" of 1886-87 thousands of cattle perished on the overstocked ranges and many ranchers went bankrupt. The cattle business was badly hurt for the time being but the Dakota cattlemen had learned their lesson. The days of the big cattle outfits had gone never to return. After the experience of 1886 and 1887, the herds were comparatively small, and provisions were made for feeding in case of emergency. Other events also tended to change the status of ranching in western Dakota. The coming in of homesteaders and farmers in the late eighties who began to construct fences around their little tracts interfered with the freedom of the range and cut off the water holes from public use. There was a period of contest between the ranchers and the "nesters," as the farmers were called, which ended in an ultimate victory for the tillers of the soil. Although the picturesque days of the open range were over, ranching still continued to be the most important industry west of the Missouri River.

Before the coming of the steamboat, the navigation of the Missouri River was not extensive and was associated chiefly with the fur trade. In 1831 the steamboat *Yellowstone* entered the confines of the Territory of Dakota. In 1859 the steamboat *Chippewa* reached a point fifteen miles below Fort Benton. The Harney expedition of 1855, and later the construction of Fort Randall, gave temporary employment to two or three extra vessels, and at times additional steamers were put into operation in the fur trade. Gold was discovered on the Salmon River in

1862 in what later became Montana. This event brought a rapid increase in steamboat traffic by the people of the new mining district who soon saw that the Missouri River was the most economical route for immigration and freight.

The Indian Bureau of the United States government transported its annuity goods up the Missouri to the Indian tribes along the river. The government also sent troops and laborers as well as supplies by this route to its military posts along the Missouri and to its exploring and road building parties in the northwest. The number of vessels making the trip to Fort Benton rose from 4 in 1864 to 37 in 1867, but declined to 11 in 1875. Yankton was the most important landing in southern Dakota and the local river trade was reflected in its steamboat business. Steamboats usually loaded both ways—made large profits.

Freight rates from St. Louis to Fort Benton were as high as 18 cents per pound down to 1865. In 1866 they dropped to 11 and 12 cents and in 1867 to 9 cents per pound. Rates from Sioux City, Iowa, to Fort Benton in 1868 were 1¼ cents. Insurance rates were high, often being as much as 15 to 20 per cent. The fare for cabin passengers from St. Louis to Fort Benton was \$150 to \$300 for the round trip, board costing \$4.80 per day extra.

In spite of the rapid development of river traffic there were many obstacles to Missouri River navigation. The channel was made uncertain and dangerous by swift currents, sandbars, and other obstructions. Danger of breakage of engine parts on the trip made it necessary to carry hundreds of parts for repair purposes. The scarcity of fuel was another very serious handicap. Steamers consumed large amounts of wood which was expensive when purchased from the "wood-hawks" and entailed danger and delay when it was necessary for the crew to find and cut it.

The great rival of the Missouri River steamboat was the railroad and the struggle between the two lasted from 1859, when the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad reached St. Joseph, Missouri, until 1887 when the Great Northern Railroad reached Helena, Montana. The base of river trade was gradually shifted up the river by the completion of railroad facilities to the various

Missouri River towns. The discovery of gold in the Black Hills tended to revive river traffic between Sioux City, Pierre, and Bismarck. The Hills trade was at its height from 1876 to 1881.

The steamboat in its long and hopeless struggle with the railroad found an ally in the United States government which undertook to maintain freight traffic on the Missouri. For many years its work consisted largely of removing snags and obstructions which caused about seventy per cent of the Missouri River steamboat wrecks. Considerable money was spent, but little material benefit was gained. By the early eighties Missouri River navigation was dead beyond the hope of resurrection.

Steamboat navigation on the Missouri had relatively little influence on the settlement of the Territory of Dakota since agricultural settlement was not extensive until after the coming of the railroad had caused a rapid decline in river traffic. Transportation on the Missouri was always uncertain and expensive. The Dakota area exported little but imported considerable freight by steamboat. Missouri River traffic had very little influence on the economic development of Dakota, partly because of certain characteristics of the stream. It was swift, crooked, shifting, subject to very marked fluctuations in volume, and at many points often very shallow. It was obstructed by many snags and sandbars and was frozen over for several months during the year. Under these circumstances it was impossible for steamboats to compete successfully with the railroad.

The navigation of the Red River of the North began in 1857, with the transportation of goods through the United States by the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1858 three consignments of goods were made to St. Paul. The first steamboat, the *Anson Northup*, was launched in the spring of 1859. The steamer *International* was put to work in 1862, between Fort Abercrombie and Georgetown. The traffic increased in the seventies. The Merchants International Steamboat Company in 1875 carried 24,500 tons of freight and 7,690 passengers. Grandin, the big wheat farmer, operated the Grandin Steamboat Line from the spring of 1879 until the early nineties. The Red River traffic was entirely of a local nature and even that was

done under handicap as the stream was not suitable for extensive steamboat navigation.

In any frontier community, before the coming of railroads, overland freight and stage lines are bound to be important. In the early forties, goods were carried from St. Paul to Pembina in Red River carts. After arrangements were completed in 1857 for the carrying of goods in bond for the Hudson's Bay Company, the cart trade from St. Paul to the northwest grew very rapidly. The Minnesota Stage Company was organized in the spring of 1859 to handle mail contracts from St. Paul to Fort Abercrombie and other northwest points. In 1860 the stage line was extended to Georgetown and mail service to Pembina. The Indian troubles of the early Civil War period greatly handicapped the rapidly increasing stage and express business. In the late sixties and early seventies, Red River navigation developed. As roads were improved and bridges built, the stage companies did an extensive business and extended their lines. A line of stages was established between Fort Abercrombie and Winnipeg in 1871. The first mail from Fort Randall to Sioux City was carried by individual carriers hired directly by the United States government. A regular mail and express line carrying mail once a week was established in 1860. With the discovery of gold in the northwest and the establishment of the Missouri River route, various expeditions passed through Dakota to the newly discovered mines of the west.

At its session in 1865, Congress attempted to remedy the lack of roads and bridges by appropriating considerable amounts of money for their construction in Dakota as well as in various other parts of the west to facilitate the rapidly growing travel to the gold fields of Idaho and Montana. After the establishment of Fort Dakota at Sioux Falls in 1865, all supplies and freight for the garrison were hauled from Sioux City. After the connection of Sioux City with Chicago by rail in 1868 and the beginning of immigration to southeastern Dakota there was a rapid extension of mail and stage connections between that place and various points along the Missouri, Big Sioux, Vermillion, and James Rivers. By 1870 a Yankton newspaper advertised four stage lines operating out of the territorial capi-

tal. In the same year mail and stage connections were established between Bismarck and Fort Buford and from there to Fort Keogh. With the extension of settlement north and west, transportation facilities followed the line of settlement.

With the discovery of gold in the Black Hills and the rush to that region in 1876, stage lines were established from Yankton, Pierre, and Bismarck. Freight was carried by boat from Yankton to Pierre and the Merchants Transportation Company operated by Bramble and Miner ran a weekly train of freight wagons in the spring of 1877 direct from Fort Pierre to Deadwood. The rate per hundred pounds was \$4.75. It took a month to make a round trip. In 1880 more than 5,000 tons of freight were carried by the line. In 1876 the Northwestern Express, Stage and Transportation Company established freight and stage lines out of Bismarck which had been connected with the east by rail in 1873. From 1876 to 1880, in which year Chamberlain, Pierre, and Dickinson were reached by rail, Bismarck was the most important point of approach to the Hills from the east. From 1880 to 1885 when railroad connections were made to the Hills from the south, Pierre was the most important shipping point. In 1883 the stage fare between Pierre and Deadwood was twenty dollars. Baggage cost ten cents per pound.

The greatest factor in the settlement and development of the Territory of Dakota, except its fertile land, was the railroad. The early homesteaders often retained their claims in the hope that a railroad would appear and make their land valuable. There was no incentive to the raising of a surplus of farm products until there was some means of disposing of it. The first railroad constructed in Dakota was the Dakota Southern, which was opened in 1873 for general passenger traffic between Sioux City and Yankton.

The first train on the Northern Pacific arrived at Moorhead, Minnesota, and crossed the Red River into Dakota in January 1872. The construction was laid to Bismarck in June 1873, and the road was opened to traffic in July. With the financial crisis of 1873 all railroad construction stopped, and nothing further was done on the Northern Pacific until in the fall of

1878 when grading began west of the Missouri. The Northern Pacific began the construction of its Casselton branch twenty miles west of Fargo in July 1879. There was a rapid extension of railroad lines in all sections of the territory.

A few comparative figures show the development of railroads in the territory after the panic of 1873. In 1879 there were 449 miles of railroad in Dakota, which increased to 825 miles in 1880. There was a very rapid extension during the next year, the mileage increasing to 1,596 at the end of the year. In 1882 the mileage was 1,947 and by the end of 1883 it was 2,475. In 1884 and 1885 the increase was not so rapid. The leading addition in 1885 was that of the Fremont, Elkhorn and Missouri Valley Line of the Chicago and Northwestern system, from Valentine, Nebraska, west and north 191 miles to Buffalo Gap, Dakota. It was extended to Rapid City in the spring of 1886. On June 30, 1886, the total railroad mileage for Dakota was 2,898 and by December 1889 there were eleven systems in the territory with a total of 4,463 miles.

The Black Hills region covering an approximate area of 3,500 square miles is located in the southwestern corner of Dakota between the Belle Fourche River and the south fork of the Big Cheyenne. Early explorers visited this district and a tradition grew up that it was rich in gold. The Sioux Indians are supposed to have discovered it, but at what time is uncertain. That the Hills country was prospected for gold almost fifty years before its lawful settlement in 1876 and 1877 has been well authenticated by the discovery of various remains and abandoned "diggings," of early prospectors who left many traces of their activities.

The first regularly organized military expedition into the Black Hills was led by Lieutenant G. K. Warren, accompanied by Dr. F. V. Hayden, a geologist. The early frontier communities of southeastern Dakota were interested in the Black Hills, which naturally became the object of proposed projects and expeditions in quest of gold. The Black Hills Exploring and Mining Association was organized at Yankton in January 1861. An expedition, planned by the Association in the winter of 1866 and 1867, was stopped by the United States government, which

considered it an encroachment upon Indian territory. By 1872 the gold fever and agitation for the opening of the area had reached nearly every portion of the country. The Custer expedition in 1874 reported gold in paying quantities and caused the gold rush of 1874 to 1877. The Sioux City and Yankton newspapers contained evidence of activities early in 1874.

Since the region was still Indian country, the military authorities made every effort to stop gold seekers from entering. They drove out many parties but in spite of their opposition many miners went into the hills. An attempt on the part of the government to come to an agreement with the Indians failed in the summer of 1875, and was followed by a withdrawal of all active military opposition to occupation. There immediately followed a rapid rush to the region, as many as 15,000 miners assembling there during the fall and winter. Even the Indian troubles following the Custer Massacre did not deter immigration. The peak of the gold rush was reached in the spring of 1877 and soon the influx of gold seekers practically ceased. This was brought about largely by the shift of emphasis from placer to lode or deep vein mining. All available claims had been taken by the summer of 1877 and nothing was left for the newcomer. Population shifted as new discoveries were made and towns arose like mushrooms and as quickly declined. Speculation in town lots often became a furore of the wildest kind. Life in the camps was typical of mining communities, and there was, of course, a great deal of crime. Towns were far from being permanent and often deteriorated as rapidly as they had developed. Custer City in the spring of 1876 was a place of almost 6,000 population. Late in May the news of a rich gold discovery in Deadwood Gulch began to circulate and a stampede began. As many as a thousand people left Custer City in a single day and within a few weeks its population had diminished to less than one hundred.

In 1877 the principal towns were Deadwood, Gayville, Central City, Lead City, Lancaster City, Pennington, and Galena City. Deadwood had about 4,000 inhabitants, while Central City contained about 1,500. In 1880 the total population was reported at about 16,000, while in 1885 it had declined to 14,842.

After 1877 there was very little placer mining, the largest amount of the gold being obtained from quartz mines. The output of gold for 1878 and 1879 was \$3,000,000 annually, \$5,000,000 for 1880, and \$4,000,000 for 1881. The amount gradually decreased to \$3,350,000 in 1883 and to \$3,150,000 in 1885.—An abstract from a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy as accepted by the Graduate College of the State University of Iowa. University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 89-104.



Great Seal of Dakota Territory

ORGANIC ACT OF DAKOTA TERRITORY

U. S. Statutes at Large, Chapter LXXXVI, 36th Congress,
Second Session.

AN ACT TO PROVIDE A TEMPORARY GOVERNMENT FOR THE
TERRITORY OF DAKOTA, AND TO CREATE THE OFFICE
OF SURVEYOR-GENERAL THEREIN.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all that part of the territory of the United States included within the following limits, namely: Commencing at a point in the main channel of the Red River of the North, where the forty-ninth degree of north latitude crosses the same; thence up the main channel of the same, and along the boundary of the State of Minnesota, to Big Stone Lake; thence along the boundary line of the said State of Minnesota to the Iowa line; thence along the boundary line of the State of Iowa to the point of intersection between the Big Sioux and Missouri rivers; thence up the Missouri river and along the boundary line of the Territory of Nebraska, to the mouth of the Niobrara or Running Water river; thence following up the same, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to the mouth of the Keha Paha, or Turtle Hill river; thence up said river to the forty-third parallel of north latitude; thence due west to the present boundary of the Territory of Washington; thence along the boundary line of Washington Territory, to the forty-ninth degree of north latitude; thence east, along said forty-ninth degree of north latitude, to the place of beginning, be, and the same is hereby, organized into a temporary government, by the name of the Territory of Dakota: *Provided*, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to impair the rights of person or property now pertaining to the Indians in said territory, so long as such rights shall remain unextinguished by treaty between the United States and such Indians, or to include any territory which, by treaty with any Indian tribe, is not, without the consent of said tribe, to be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any state or territory; but all such territory shall be excepted out of the boundaries and constitute no part of the Territory of Dakota, until said tribe shall signify their assent to the president of the United States to be included within the

said territory, or to affect the authority of the government of the United States to make any regulations respecting such Indians, their lands, property, or other rights, by treaty, law, or otherwise, which it would have been competent for the government to make if this act had never passed: *Provided, further,* That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to inhibit the government of the United States from dividing said territory into two or more territories, in such manner and at such times as congress shall deem convenient and proper, or from attaching any portion thereof to any other territory or state.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the executive power and authority in and over said Territory of Dakota, shall be vested in a governor, who shall hold his office for four years, and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the president of the United States. The governor shall reside within said territory, shall be commander-in-chief of the militia thereof, shall perform the duties and receive the emoluments of superintendent of Indian affairs, and shall approve all laws passed by the legislative assembly before they shall take effect; he may grant pardons for offenses against the law of said territory, and reprieves for offenses against the laws of the United States until the decision of the president can be made known thereon; he shall commission all officers who shall be appointed to office under the laws of said territory, and shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That there shall be a secretary of said territory, who shall reside therein, and hold his office for four years, unless sooner removed by the president of the United States; he shall record and preserve all the laws and proceedings of the legislative assembly hereinafter constituted, and all the acts and proceedings of the governor, in his executive department; he shall transmit one copy of the laws, and one copy of the executive proceedings, on or before the first day of December in each year, to the president of the United States, and, at the same time, two copies of the laws to the speaker of the house of representatives and the president of the senate, for the use of congress; and in case of the death, removal, or resignation,

or other necessary absence of the governor from the territory, the secretary shall have, and is hereby authorized and required, to execute and perform all the powers and duties of the governor during such vacancy or necessary absence, or until another governor shall be duly appointed to fill such vacancy.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the legislative power and authority of said territory shall be vested in the governor and a legislative assembly. The legislative assembly shall consist of a council and house of representatives. The council shall consist of nine members, which may be increased to thirteen, having the qualifications of voters as hereinafter prescribed, whose terms of service shall continue two years. The house of representatives shall consist of thirteen members, which may be increased to twenty-six, possessing the same qualifications as prescribed for members of the council, and whose term of service shall continue one year. An apportionment shall be made, as nearly equal as practicable, among the several counties or districts for the election of the council and house of representatives, giving to each section of the territory representation in the ratio of its population, (Indians excepted) as nearly as may be; and the members of the council and of the house of representatives shall reside in, and be inhabitants of, the district for which they may be elected, respectively. Previous to the first election, the governor shall cause a census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the several counties and districts of the territory to be taken; and the first election shall be held at such time and places, and be conducted in such manner, as the governor shall appoint and direct; and he shall, at the same time, declare the number of the members of the council and house of representatives to which each of the counties or districts shall be entitled under this act. The number of persons authorized to be elected, having the highest number of votes in each of said council districts, for members of the council, shall be declared by the governor to be duly elected to the council; and the person or persons authorized to be elected having the greatest number of votes for the house of representatives, equal to the number to which each county or district shall be entitled, shall be declared by the governor to be elected members of the house of representatives: *Provided*, That

in case of a tie between two or more persons voted for, the governor shall order a new election, to supply the vacancy made by such tie. And the persons thus elected to the legislative assembly shall meet at such place and on such day as the governor shall appoint; but thereafter, the time, place, and manner of holding and conducting all elections by the people, and the apportioning the representation in the several counties or districts to the council and house of representatives, according to the population, shall be prescribed by law, as well as the day of the commencement of the regular session of the legislative assembly: *Provided*, That no one session exceed the term of forty days, except the first, which may be extended to sixty days, but no longer.

Sec. 5 *And be it further enacted*, That every free white male inhabitant of the United States above the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of said territory at the time of the passage of this act, shall be entitled to vote at the first election, and shall be eligible to any office within the said territory; but the qualifications of voters and of holding office at all subsequent elections shall be such as shall be prescribed by the legislative assembly: *Provided*, That the right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States and those who shall have declared on oath their intention to become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the constitution of the United States.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That the legislative power of the territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act; but no law shall be passed interfering with the primary disposal of the soil; no tax shall be imposed upon the property of the United States; nor shall the lands or other property of non-residents be taxed higher than the lands or other property of residents; nor shall any law be passed impairing the rights of private property; nor shall any discrimination be made in taxing different kinds of property; but all property subject to taxation shall be in proportion to the value of the property taxed.

Sec. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That all township, district, and county officers, not herein otherwise provided for, shall be appointed or elected as the case may be, in such manner as shall be provided by the governor and legislative assembly of the territory. The governor shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the legislative council, appoint all officers not herein otherwise provided for; and, in the first instance, the governor alone may appoint all said officers, who shall hold their offices until the end of the first session of the legislative assembly, and shall lay off the necessary districts for members of the council and house of representatives, and all other officers.

Sec. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That no member of the legislative assembly shall hold or be appointed to any office which shall have been created, or the salary or emoluments of which shall have been created, or the salary or emoluments of which shall have been increased while he was a member, during the term for which he was elected, and for one year after the expiration of such term, and no person holding a commission or appointment under the United States, except postmasters, shall be a member of the legislative assembly, or shall hold any office under the government of said territory.

Sec. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That the judicial power of said territory shall be vested in a supreme court, district courts, probate courts, and in justices of the peace. The supreme court shall consist of a chief justice and two associate justices, any two of whom shall constitute a quorum, and who shall hold a term at the seat of government of said territory annually, and they shall hold their offices during the period of four years. The said territory shall be divided into three judicial districts, and a district court shall be held in each of said districts by one of the justices of the supreme court, at such time and place as may be prescribed by law; and the said judges shall, after their appointments respectively, reside in the districts which shall be assigned them. The jurisdiction of the several courts herein provided for, both appellate and original, and that of the probate courts and of the justices of the peace, shall be as limited

by law: Provided, That justices of the peace shall not have jurisdiction of any matter in controversy when the title or boundaries of land may be in dispute, or where the debt or sum claimed shall exceed one hundred dollars; and the said supreme and district courts, respectively, shall possess chancery as well as common law jurisdiction, and authority for redress of all wrongs committed against the constitution or laws of the United States, or of the territory, affecting persons or property. Each district court, or the judge thereof, shall appoint its clerk, who shall also be the register in chancery, and shall keep his office at the place where the court may be held. Writs of error, bills of exception, and appeals, shall be allowed in all cases from the final decisions of said district courts to the supreme court, under such regulations as may be prescribed by law; but in no case removed to the supreme court shall trial by jury be allowed in said court. The supreme court, or the justices thereof, shall appoint its own clerk, and every clerk shall hold his office at the pleasure of the court for which he shall have been appointed. Writs of error and appeals from the final decisions of said supreme court shall be allowed, and may be taken to the supreme court of the United States, in the same manner and under the same regulations as from the circuit courts of the United States, where the value of the property, or the amount in controversy, to be ascertained by the oath or affirmation of either party, or other competent witness, shall exceed one thousand dollars; and each of the said district courts shall have and exercise the same jurisdiction, in all cases arising under the constitution and laws of the United States as is vested in the circuit and district courts of the United States; and the said supreme and district courts of the said territory, and the respective judges thereof, shall and may grant writs of *habeas corpus* in all cases in which the same are grantable by the judges of the United States in the District of Columbia; and the first six days of every term of said courts or so much thereof as shall be necessary, shall be appropriated to the trial of causes arising under the said constitution and laws; and writs of error and appeals in all such cases shall be made to the supreme court of said territory the same as in other cases. The said clerk shall receive, in all such cases, the same fees which the

clerks of the district courts of Nebraska Territory now receive for similar services.

Sec. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be appointed an attorney for said territory, who shall continue in office for four years, unless sooner removed by the president, and who shall receive the same fees and salary, as the attorney of the United States for the present Territory of Nebraska. There shall also be a marshal for the territory appointed, who shall hold his office for four years, unless sooner removed by the president, and who shall execute all processes issuing from the said courts when exercising their jurisdiction as circuit and district courts of the United States; he shall perform the duties, be subject to the same regulations and penalties, and be entitled to the same fees as the marshal of the district court of the United States for the present Territory of Nebraska, and shall, in addition, be paid two hundred dollars annually as a compensation for extra services.

Sec. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That the governor, secretary, chief justice and associate justices, attorney, and marshal, shall be nominated and, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, appointed by the president of the United States. The governor and secretary to be appointed as aforesaid shall, before they act as such, respectively take an oath or affirmation before the district judge, or some justice of the peace in the limits of said territory duly authorized to administer oaths and affirmations by the laws now in force therein, or before the chief justice or some associate justice of the supreme court of the United States, to support the constitution of the United States, and faithfully to discharge the duties of their respective offices; which said oaths, when so taken, shall be certified by the person by whom the same shall have been taken; and such certificates shall be received and recorded by the secretary among the executive proceedings; and the chief justice and associate justices, and all other civil officers in said territory, before they act as such, shall take a like oath or affirmation before the said governor or secretary, or some judge or justice of the peace of the territory who may be duly commissioned and qualified, which said oath or

affirmation shall be certified and transmitted by the person taking the same to the secretary, to be by him recorded as aforesaid; and afterwards the like oath or affirmation shall be taken, certified, and recorded in such manner and form as may be prescribed by law. The governor shall receive an annual salary of fifteen hundred dollars as governor, and one thousand dollars as superintendent of Indian affairs; the chief justice and associate justices shall each receive an annual salary of eighteen hundred dollars; the secretary shall receive an annual salary of eighteen hundred dollars. The said salaries shall be paid quarter-yearly at the treasury of the United States. The members of the legislative assembly shall be entitled to receive three dollars each per day during their attendance at the session thereof, and three dollars for every twenty miles travel in going to and returning from the said sessions, estimated according to the nearest usually traveled route. There shall be appropriated annually the sum of one thousand dollars, to be expended by the governor, to defray the contingent expenses of the territory. There shall also be appropriated annually a sufficient sum, to be expended by the secretary of the territory, and upon an estimate to be made by the secretary of the treasury of the United States, to defray the expenses of the legislative assembly, the printing of the laws, and other incidental expenses; and the secretary of the territory shall annually account to the secretary of the treasury of the United States for the manner in which the aforesaid sum shall have been expended.

Sec. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That the legislative assembly of the Territory of Dakota shall hold its first session at such time and place in said territory as the governor thereof shall appoint and direct; and at said first session, or as soon thereafter as they shall deem expedient, the governor and legislative assembly shall proceed to locate and establish the seat of government for said territory at such place as they may deem eligible; which place, however, shall thereafter be subject to be changed by the said governor and legislative assembly.

Sec. 13. *And be it further enacted*, That a delegate to the house of representatives of the United States, to serve during

each congress of the United States, may be elected by the voters qualified to elect members of the legislative assembly, who shall be entitled to the same rights and privileges as are exercised and enjoyed by the delegates from the several other territories of the United States to the said house of representatives. The first election shall be held at such time and place, and be conducted in such manner, as the governor shall appoint and direct; and at all subsequent elections, the times, places, and manner of holding elections shall be prescribed by law. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be declared by the governor to be duly elected, and a certificate thereof shall be given accordingly.

Sec. 14. *And be it further enacted*, That when the land in said territory shall be surveyed, under the direction of the government of the United States, preparatory to bringing the same into market, sections numbered sixteen and thirty-six in each township in said territory shall be, and the same are hereby, reserved for the purpose of being applied to schools in the states hereafter to be erected out of the same.

Sec. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That temporarily, and until otherwise provided by law, the governor of said territory may define the judicial districts of said territory and assign the judges who may be appointed for said territory to the several districts, and also appoint the times and places for holding courts in the several counties or subdivisions in each of said judicial districts by proclamation to be issued by him; but the legislative assembly, at their first or any subsequent session, may organize, alter, or modify such judicial districts, and assign the judges, and alter the times and places of holding the courts, as to them shall seem proper and convenient.

Sec. 16. *And be it further enacted*, That the constitution and all laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory of Dakota as elsewhere within the United States.

Sec. 17. *And be it further enacted*, That the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the

senate, shall be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint a surveyor-general for Dakota, who shall locate his office at such place as the Secretary of the Interior shall from time to time direct, and whose duties, powers, obligations, responsibilities, compensation, and allowances for clerk hire, office rent, fuel, and incidental expenses, shall be the same as those of the surveyor-general of Nebraska and Kansas, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, and such instructions as he may from time to time deem it advisable to give him.

Sec. 18. *And be it further enacted*, That so much of the public lands of the United States in the Territory of Dakota, west of its eastern boundary, and east and north of the Niobrara, or Running Water river, be formed into a land district, to be called the Yankton district, at such time as the president may direct, the land office for which shall be located at such point as the president may direct, and shall be removed from time to time to other points within said district whenever, in his opinion, it may be expedient.

Sec. 19. *And be it further enacted*, That the president be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, a register and receiver for said district, who shall respectively be required to reside at the site of said office, and who shall have the same powers, perform the same duties, and be entitled to the same compensation, as are or may be prescribed by law in relation to other land offices of the United States.

Sec. 20. *And be it further enacted*, That the river in said territory heretofore known as the "River aux Jacques," or "James River," shall hereafter be called the Dakota river.

Sec. 21. *And be it further enacted*, That until congress shall otherwise direct, that portion of the territories of Utah and Washington between the forty-first and forty-third degrees of north latitude, and east of the thirty-third meridian of longitude west from Washington, shall be, and is hereby, incorporated into and made a part of the Territory of Nebraska.

Approved, March 2, 1861.

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FOREWORD

To fifteen-year-old John Allen Hosmer's industry we are indebted for A TRIP TO THE STATES. The trip began at Virginia City, Montana Territory, on September 21 and ended at Detroit, Michigan, November 16, 1865. Although accompanied by many adult companions on the dangerous journey, young Hosmer appears to be the only one who left an account of the trek from the frontier to "America." To-day's journey over the same route could be made in a few days by automobile, airplane, and railroad; Hosmer travelled by wagon, flatboat, steamboat, stagecoach, and railroad.

Newly created Montana Territory was the home of few white people in 1865. Its capital, Virginia City, was a boom town of gold seekers anxious to glean riches from Alder Gulch. Our journalistic benefactor arrived there in 1864 with his sister Sarah and his parents. His father, Hezekiah L. Hosmer, had been honored by President Lincoln with appointment as chief justice of the Territory. The elder Hosmer's name is linked with the legal history of Montana as his son's name is with the history of journalism.

The Hosmers had spent the winter of 1864-1865 at Virginia City—a winter marked by cold weather and a scarcity of food. It was no doubt due to the experience of the previous winter that the family decided to go eastward in 1865.

The July, 1936, number of *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, contains an eight page article by Robert L. Housman, Professor of Journalism, University of Montana, on BOY EDITORS OF

FRONTIER MONTANA. The author presents in an interesting way certain parallels existing in the journalistic activity of Lee Travis and Allen Hosmer, who at fourteen and sixteen years of age respectively, were editors in Montana. It is believed that Hosmer was the first boy editor through publication of the *Beaverhead News*, Virginia City, late in August, 1866; the paper suspended in October. While no copies of this newspaper have been found, its existence is verified by contemporary comments relating to it. It is also thought that *A TRIP TO THE STATES* was published serially therein.

".....Hosmer was the first person to produce complete—that is, to write, edit, print, bind and distribute—a book in Montana.....", states Housman, and adds, "The Hosmer book is now a bibliographic rarity. There are three known copies of the book. Its ninety-four pages—printed a page at a time—show an extraordinarily clear imprint for the hand press on coarse news-print paper. The ink is slightly faded but the boy's diary of the 'trip to America' is none the less of historical value."

A reprint of *A TRIP TO THE STATES* edited by Mrs. Edith M. Duncan was published in *The Frontier*, Missoula, 1932, XII, and was in turn used as No. 17, *Sources of Northwest History*. The copy for this number has been taken from the latter publication. Dr. Paul C. Phillips and Mrs. Edith M. Duncan have kindly granted permission to use the editorial notes. Mrs. Anne McDonnell, assistant librarian of the Historical Society of Montana, Helena, has been helpful in supplying information.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF MONTANA
PUBLISHED
A Trip to the States,

BY THE WAY OF THE

YELLOWSTONE AND MISSOURI,

BY J. ALLEN HOSMER,

With a Table of Distances.

VIRGINIA CITY, MON. TER.

BEAVER HEAD NEWS PRINT.

1867.

3194

A TRIP TO THE STATES

INTRODUCTION

I am about undertaking to write a brief sketch of a trip to the States by way of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers, which trip was not only through a beautiful country, but was also very unpleasant.

As I have headed this pamphlet a trip to the States, I will commence at Virginia City in this Territory and finish at Detroit, Michigan.

The story will speak of the camping grounds, the boats, and the beauties of the river.

Entered according to an Act of Congress

By J. A. Hosmer

In the Clerk's Office, of the First Judicial District of Montana Territory.

1866

A TRIP TO THE STATES

Sept. 21, 1865.—After a great deal of trouble getting ready, at last a light wagon drawn by two black horses drove up in front of the door and after putting on about half a ton then we all took a farewell glass of wine and got into the wagon. After getting in, one of our neighbors threw an old shoe after us, but the shoe went crooked and we supposed that it meant crooked luck, well, we started at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and on ascending the divide between the Stinkingwater¹ and Madison rivers, we encountered a storm of snow and rain, and having only a cloth cover to our wagon, we were [2]. rather wet when we had got across the divide.

At one o'clock we arrived at the Eight Mile House where some men were a little merry on account of having more liquor on board than they could comfortably carry.

We stayed here but a moment, and then started, and in a short time we came on to a level plain and there you may see a beautiful range of mountains² in the distance, and by looking back we could see the snow-storm we had just passed through, finally the sun came out and we had pleasant weather the rest of the afternoon.

At about half past three we arrived at Newmans ranch, situated at the crossing of Willow Creek, twenty miles from Virginia, here we met some men bound for the Yellowstone, whose wagon had broke down the day before a few miles back, and they were waiting here for it to come up, they were armed with double barreled shotguns and Colt's revolvers.

We were here only a few moments and then started on, we passed a great many wagons bound for the Yellowstone after about an hour's travel from Newmans. At half past five we entered a very pretty [3] canyon, and in crossing a mud hole in said canyon we broke one of the whiffletrees to our wagon after a little trouble we succeeded with birch wood and rope in fixing it up, we started on, and just at dark we drove into Merritt Young's ranch or as it is often called the Half-way House, we got a very good supper of Antelope and potatoes, and

Bracketed numbers denote pages in original copy.

¹ Alder Gulch in which Virginia City is built drains into this stream, called by the Snake Indians Passamari, by early settlers Stinkingwater and now known as the Ruby River. It flows into the Jefferson. Virginia City, the great placer-gold bonanza, was then the territorial capital, with a population of 10,000.

² The Madison Range, one of the most beautiful in all Montana.

after spreading our blankets on the ground floor of the cabin we retired, having made thirty miles.

Sept. 22.—At about six o'clock we arose and the first thing on the programme was to find our horses, we looked until half past seven, but saw no signs of them, then we got breakfast, and about half past nine we found the horses two miles down the road, we harnessed them and then could not start on account of Major Barrett one of our passengers being absent, at length he came up the road swinging his arms and we jumped into the wagon and started, after going three miles we came to the Hot Spring from which the Hot Spring Mining District receives its name, we took a look at that and then went on and crossed the divide between Meadow Creek and the Madison river which divide is covered with beautiful Pine trees and huge boulders.

[4] After crossing this divide we went down into the valley of the Madison, and we followed this river over a rocky road for six miles then we crossed at a place known as Foreman's³ ranch forty miles from Virginia, here we left the Madison and after going twelve miles we left the road and took to the open prairie. Not one of us knew where we were going at the time,⁴ but at last after climbing hills and crossing long prairies; we at last came to the canyon we were looking for, we entered the canyon about five o'clock in the afternoon and were then about four miles from the Gallatin river, when about mid-way in the canyon, in crossing a sideling place in the road, the wheels of our light wagon with its heavy load broke, and the wagon and its contents after turning three times in the air, landed in a ravine thirty four feet from where we started there were six of us in the wagon and not one of us was hurt, the tongue broke from the wagon and the horses stood still and looked on. Gingerbread, sugar, paper collars, quartz specimens, and divers and sundry other things were found here and there, we gathered them up and we got them to the top of the hill with difficulty on account of the hill being perpendicular.[5] The

³ Known to all old-timers as Black's. Here was a toll-bridge over the Madison. The toll was \$1.00 per wagon.

⁴ E. A. Maynard of Jefferson, who came with Bozeman in his race with Bridger gives this route as up Elk Creek to Fly's Bridge than on to Emigrant Gulch.

fire arms landed on the chickens which we were taking to our ranch.

We then started on foot, and a little after dark arrived at our ranch, and after partaking of a small supper we retired for the night.

Sept. 23.—This day we stayed at the ranch, and I went fishing with Mr. Samuel Russell in the Gallatin, but his luck was a little better than mine, because he caught about thirty fish and I caught one, but we had a fine mess of fish for supper, nothing else of account happened this day.

Sept. 24.—To day we went to a beautiful spring situated on our ranch, and in the afternoon we practiced firing at a mark, in the evening we took a walk around to a Frenchman's that lived near by and bought a quarter of Antelope, we then returned to the ranch and retired.

Sept. 25.—Left the ranch at about eight o'clock in a lumber wagon drawn by two mules and horses, after going about a mile we forded the Gallatin river which is a very rapid stream, then we rode through a pine forest about a mile in length we then forded Cottonwood creek, then we crossed a prairie nine miles and then forded the East Gallatin [6] river, and at eleven o'clock we arrived at Bozeman City,⁵ seventy-five miles from Virginia, we bought potatoes and turnips enough here to last us through the trip, while here an old man came running up from the East Gallatin and said he had heard some Indians in the water at that place.

Then to tell the truth I was frightened, I expected at every turn in the road to be met or pursued by a hostile band of Sioux or Cheyennes, but as good fortune would have it they were not Sioux but Flatheads⁶ who were friendly toward the whites but deadly enemies of the Crows who have their hunting grounds in this vicinity.

We left Bozeman at twelve o'clock and after going a few miles we ascended the divide which separates the Gallatin from

⁵ Bozeman was then a place of fewer than a dozen houses. Judge Hosmer later held the first term of court here.

⁶ The early home of the Flatheads, a Selish race, was in the Bitter Root Valley. The Passanari, the Gallatin, the Beaverhead, Jefferson, Big Hole and Madison were all disputed Indian Territory.

the Yellowstone, the ascent is very steep, and as we went up, we looked back and could see Bozeman City and nearly all the Gallatin valley in the distance.

This divide is twelve miles in length and for most of the way is covered with very large pine trees, the rest of the way is rocky.

At four o'clock we descended the divide,⁷ which is as steep as the ascent, after getting down we ran into [7] a mud hole and got stuck, the tongue went under the root of a tree, and in trying to get it out we broke the evener, here we stayed for a while and finally succeeded in getting out, and after running through ruts and mud holes for about five miles, we camped on an open prairie ten miles from the Yellowstone, not more than three miles from where, two weeks before, two men were killed by Sioux Indians. There we were only six in number, and in a hostile Indian country. We all felt a little nervous expecting that our "har might be rized" before morning, but darkness had overtaken us and the roads being bad we were in danger of breaking the wagon if we went on, so after making a fire, and having a supper of Antelope without any seasoning and bread without any butter, we retired under the wagon, and had a blustering wind during the whole night.

Sept. 26.—We arose very early, and harnessed up the horses and started without breakfast, after driving a few miles we came in sight of the lofty peaks of Immigrant Gulch, and the green trees that border on the Yellowstone, at half past seven we entered the canyon, the rocks on either side rise [8] to the enormous height of almost a mile.⁸

After following the canyon up two miles, we drove into a beautiful grove of cottonwood trees, in this grove there were over three hundred people encamped, they amused themselves by hunting, fishing, reading and stealing, but the latter was soon put an end to by the Vigilance Committee, who put out notices that they were in session.

⁷ Bozeman Pass where James Bozeman was killed in 1867.

⁸ From this description it would appear that from the top of Bozeman Pass the party had followed a canyon which leads southward, instead of the main pass which comes out near Livingston. Emigrant Gulch in the Upper Yellowstone was a gold camp discovered by D. B. Weaver in 1864.

The scenery in this vicinity compares in grandeur with that of the Yo Semite valley in California only the trees are not so high.

We could not start on account of all boats not being built, we spent most of the day in and around the camp, and in the evening formed an assembly and made some rules. One of which was as follows. That they should not fire a gun in the Indian country, (you will see how well this rule was kept,) after this was over we retired to our boat.

Sept. 27.—Early this morning the boats were finished being thirty six in number and divided into four different fleets No. 1 Knox & Bradbury's fleet of 10 boats, these boats were sharp at the bow thirty two feet long, three feet high, eight feet wide in the centre, and four feet wide at the stern.

[9] The names of the boats in this fleet were as follows, No. 1. Jeannie Deans, 2. Montana, 3. (our boat) Antelope, 4. Lady Pike, 5. Helena City, 6. No name, 7. St. Louis, 8. Lady Jane, 9. Otter and 10. Autocrat.

The second fleet was Bivens' of nine boats, these were common flat boats, and were of different length they had small cabins on the stern, they set sail on the 26th, and therefore I do not know the names of the boats.

The third, was the German Flats of nineteen boats these were common Flats or mud scows, the family boats had cabins but the others were the plain scow used in the states for hauling mud.

The boats spoken of above were all built of pine lumber. Fleet No. 4, belonging to Van Cleave & Hanson, consisted of four boats, built of Cottonwood lumber, and sharp at each end like the original Mackinaw boat, there were a few other boats which were built for use of private families, one of these was the handsomest boat in the outfit which they called the "Gipsey Nell" it was built similar to Knox's boats only on a smaller scale.

Having described the boats, I will now proceed [10] to describe the trip.

This morning we hurried about and got our things from the wagon into the boat, and at ten o'clock our boat got its crew on board which consisted of the following named persons, Mrs.

H. L. Hosmer, Miss S. E. Hosmer, H. L. Hosmer, L. E. Ingersoll of Wisconsin, R. M. Campbell of Detroit, Edward Hosmer of Leavenworth, W. M. Buchanan of Sioux City, O. D. Barrett of Washington, D. C., Sheldon Schmidt a dutchman from eastern Iowa and myself.

We started on rapid and sailed down one mile and camped for the rest of the boats to come up, in going that mile we passed through five rapids, we encamped in a thicket, after landing some of our men set the woods on fire and it burnt very pretty for awhile, we loafed around until about three o'clock when most of the boats arrived and then we all set sail for America,^o there were about twenty boats with us at this time. After going about two miles we made our exit from the canyon, and sailed on, after going four miles we ran on a gravel bar, our men jumped into the water to get the boat off, some of them jumped a little too far and went into the water above their waists, but we finally got off and sailed [11] down eight miles and hauled up to an island, when we arrived a large Elk with immense antlers crossed the river, some of our boys attempted to follow it but it gave them the slip by recrossing and they having no means of following were obliged to abandon the pursuit. An old hunter told us that we had chosen a very good spot for fighting Indians because said he, "the Indians will not fight unless they have the advantage," and here we had the advantage because the island was covered with willows and furnished ambush for us as well as the red skins.

We cooked our supper of bacon and potatoes, and ate it, after they had all had their suppers, they formed a meeting and Charles Davis an old Missouri steamboatman was elected pilot of the fleet, and Lieut. Robert Shilling a man who had seen considerable service in the late war, our military commander. We then retired to our boats, and it was very comfortable under a pair of Mackinaw blankets, because it was a freezing cold night.

Sept. 28.—Having learned that some of the Flat boats that were to bring families were behind, we agreed to wait for them to come up, at nine o'clock they arrived and we once more set

^o This shows how far out of the world these people felt themselves to be. This was a common expression used in the Northwest when referring to the states.

sail, [12] we ran into rapids every half mile, just before reaching one of these rapids, we landed to let the slow boats catch up, in landing, Schmidt (who was almost always in trouble) attempted to take the rope ashore by jumping from the bow of the boat, the stove being on the bow, that set him to stumbling, and next moment he went head foremost into the river and the first thing he grabbed for was the stove, but he did not hold on to that long, he grabbed an oar and with a little assistance was saved with but the inconvenience of a good ducking. O. D. Barrett caught the stove, thus the idea of going on with uncooked meals soon obviated. Schmidt went back behind a large boulder and changed his clothes, after that it was a byword with the folks on our boat that "Schmidt when he went into the Yellowstone, took the stove along for a life preserver."

The river thus far is bordered on one side with beautiful Cottonwood groves on the other either with high bluffs or level plains, at noon we camped in a thicket of rose bushes, here we saw the foot prints of a very large bear, but the "bar" was not to be seen, at one o'clock we left this camp, we passed through a great many wild rapids during the afternoon [13], but passed through them all except one without any trouble, this rapid we reached at four o'clock where all the boats hauled up in short order, the rapid is at the crossing of the Bridger road, which runs from Fort Laramie to Virginia City, the water in this rapid is not over a foot and a half deep, after a little trouble we got off and sailed on, this rapid is eighty miles below our starting point, after we got off we traveled fifteen miles and drew up for the night, our camping ground this night was on the left hand bank in a thinly scattered grove of Cottonwood trees at the back of which was a small hill about two hundred yards from the bank, on which we placed our guards, we had a very good supper of Elk and after eating it, we spread our blankets on the ground and went to bed.

Sept. 29.—We arose very early, got breakfast at half past five and were afloat at six, soon after starting we saw an Elk fight on one of the distant hills.

The river still continues to be full of rapids and are very

dangerous ones, the country through which we are now passing is an open plain, and seemed as if it were filled with mounds.

[14] At about ten o'clock as the boats were passing a sand stone cliff, the inmates of each boat fired toward it as they passed, we all thought the dreaded Sioux were upon us, but turned out to be a little duck which everybody was firing at, but no one seemed to hit it, soon after we came in sight of wagons corraled in a Cottonwood grove on the right bank of the river about three miles ahead, (this looked like civilization) we sailed on and found it to be Col. Sawyer's expedition, bound for Virginia City, the colonel was very kind and gave us some tomatoes, peaches and fresh milk, we stayed here two hours, during which time we got a narrative of their trip from Judge Smith.†

At two o'clock we started, and after going a short distance, at a bend in the river where the water had cut under a high rock, the current was very rapid, and the channel runs very close to the rock and it requires a skillful steersman to pass it in safety, all passed by safely except the "Lady Jane" which ran into the rock and stove a hole in the bottom so we had to stop to fix her, this let the flat boats get the advantage. We landed in a thick Cottonwood grove.

We were here about an hour and then started on. [15] Twelve miles below Sawyer's camp we passed the mouth of the Big Rosebud* river, which is about half a mile wide at its mouth, and when we passed it looked rather shallow, we went on and at half past five we turned a bend in the river, which runs at the base of a large mountain, it looked as if it might be an ambush for Indians, the river was not over four hundred yards wide, notwithstanding the looks of this place our pilot made himself interesting by crossing and camping on the opposite side of the river which was the worst of the two, I would not speak of this if there had been any necessity of stopping, but the sun was over an hour high, and we could get better camping grounds below.

Our camping ground this night was among a lot of dry timber and on a bank ten feet high, from all appearances it had lately been the camping ground of a band of Indians, a great

* Now known as Boulder river.

† Lewis H. Smith was engineer of the Sawyer expedition.

many in the fleet complained of this camp to the Commander in Chief, who answered in a very interesting tone "I would not want a better place for fighting Indians," but most of the fleet did not have that opinion of the place because it was plain to be seen that if the red skins should attack us we would have to take to our boats [16] and the river being full of rapids we were in danger of sinking our craft, and breaking our necks getting down the bank if we had to fly during the night, but luckily the Indians did not attack us. We had supper of fried Elk, then spread our blankets on the ground and retired.

Sept. 30.—We arose this morning at half past three, the dew that fell during the night wet our blankets through. A few moments after we arose a voice from our boat said a man was in trouble, we went to see who it was and it turned out to be Schmidt who had gone to get some water to make coffee, and fell head foremost down the bank, we got him out and his first exclamation was "Mine Got und Himmel." We set sail at twenty minutes after six, the country now breaks into Yellow sand stone cliffs it is from these rocks that the river receives its name.

The Flat boats were ahead this morning, and the rapids still continue to be bad, at half past ten we came to a very bad one, a flat boat got upon a boulder in this rapid and could not be moved, a man started with a rope in a small row boat to be of assistance, but the current was so strong that it upset the boat, and the man floated down a short distance, [17] when somebody threw him a rope which he succeeded in catching and was thus saved from a watery grave. Our boats came along just as this man started out, and our boat was the only one of the Mackinaw's that struck, and we landed on a boulder in the middle of the river, the rest of boats went on and waited for us a mile below we were almost dipping water when we swung off, we expected every moment to see the bottom of our boat floating on ahead. This rapid answers the description of the first rapid of the Yellowstone, mentioned by Lewis & Clarke.

We went on and met the rest of the fleet, and all proceeded on together. In the forenoon we saw as we imagined a herd of buffalo feeding but I think it was only a mirage. During the day we passed a great many grey cliffs with large veins of coal

running through them, these cliffs were very high and invariably at the base was a rapid. The bad rapids still continue and in the afternoon in descending one, we ran into a tree that had lately been fallen by beavers, and broke a double barrellled shot gun all to small bits, and the stock off from a Smith & Wesson rifle, this looked discouraging but we [18] fixed the rifle up, and was only minus a shot gun.

At half past four we passed the mouth of Clark's Fork, it is a very good sized stream, and comes in from the south side under a high bluff, at five o'clock we camped in some willows, backed by a small grove of trees and back of the grove was the open prairie, in this grove was an old Indian wickiup, but soon after our arrival was torn down and used for fire wood. We had supper of Antelope, and after our camp fires were lit there appeared on the distant hills just as the sun was setting a large drove of Mountain Sheep. Our blankets were spread on the sand, and we went to bed more contented than we were the night before.

October 1.—We arose and got an early breakfast, and was off at fifteen minutes of six, we passed a great many remarkable grey cliffs on the right with veins of coal, like those we passed yesterday.

During the forenoon we passed the mouth of Pryors Fork which is a small stream and comes in from the south, a little after noon we passed "Pompeys Pillar" one of Lewis & Clark's landmarks, we had a copy of their travels with us, and it is with great accuracy that they have described the landmarks [19] thus far.

Pompeys Pillar is a large yellow stone rock, and can be ascended only from one side, it seems as if the river had cut it from the main range of yellow sandstone which is on the north side of the river, the river bends around the rock which is over three hundred feet in height, and perpendicular, all except at the back where you can ascend, we did not stop and I can therefore only speak from appearances.

About thirty-five miles from where we camped last night, we passed three points of yellow stone on the north side of the river, which seemed to be covered with hieroglyphics, and as no

one had named them before us we called them the "Three Towers."

The cottonwood groves still continue and some are very beautiful, the river begins to grow deeper and less rapids appear, but still rapids appear once in awhile. We have passed a great many cliffs with veins of coal to-day, on these cliffs we saw game paths which run up almost perpendicular, we supposed they were the tracks of the Mountain Sheep we also saw in these cliffs a large quantity of swallows and the twittering of these little birds cheered [20] us up and made the men row easier.

At about two o'clock in the afternoon we saw an old Buffalo bull on a distant hill pawing dirt this was the first animal of this kind we had any certainty of seeing since we started. At four o'clock we saw a large herd of Buffalo feeding on the hills, our boys in accordance with the rule made September 26 stopped the boats and went hunting, we got a little vexed at this and went on with a few other boats.

As we left the pilot hallooed something after us which we understood, "if you leave us we'll hang you for mutiny when we catch you," but we went on.

Just after we left four Buffaloes crossed the river right in front of our boat, we sailed on some twenty miles and stopped in a cottonwood grove on the right bank, opposite to a high grey bluff, for the night with seven other boats.

We slept on the bank until midnight, when waking up my ears were assailed with the intermingled cries and howlings of wolves, cayotes, night hawks, and other creatures, whose business it seemed to be to render "night hideous." Among other noises was a peculiar whistle, long, trilling and frequent, which came from different directions. [21] This aroused my suspicions that all was not right, and that the Indians were in reality upon us, and were surrounding us, and signaling each other, to mark their progress. I roused the family and we changed our quarters to the boat, with the intention, as a last resort, to push out into the stream, in case of an attack, but just as we had got fairly located in the boat, one of the guards came in, and on making known to him our apprehensions, he, on hearing the marvellous whistle, informed us that it was the call of the male to the

female Elk, and was very common, in the rutting season with those animals.

We slept soundly after this, until the hour arrived to make preparations for our departure in the morning, and awaked with scalps untouched by the "friendly sons of the forest."

October 2.—This morning we were afloat at twenty minutes of six, it was a very beautiful morning, and we sailed on down by the yellow bluffs, and picturesque groves.

At nine o'clock we passed the mouth of the Bighorn river, this river gives a muddy color to the Yellowstone which heretofore has been very clear, the river also begins to grow wider and a great deal of [22] the time to-day, the river was over a mile in width.

The Bighorn river comes in from the south and is not very wide at its mouth. At the mouth of this river there is a very pretty site for a town, and before many years shall pass away, the metropolis of Montana¹⁰ will be at the mouth of the Bighorn river, and more than likely some of the members of the last Legislature will take up their abode in this vicinity.

Twenty miles below the Bighorn we passed a high yellow sand stone rock, and on account of its shape, we called it Citadel Rock.

The handsome cottonwood groves still continue, and if it were not for the expectation of being fired into by savages every moment, the traveler would enjoy the trip hugely.

In the afternoon we came to where an island occurs in the river, the left hand channel around this island is filled with snags and rapids, and most of the boats went this way but we did not like the looks of it, and took the other channel which is the longest and the river runs very slow, and we were an hour going around this island which is about two miles in length.

This island answers to one described by Lewis & Clarke, [23] where they speak of going ashore, and finding an Indian lodge, but it being toward evening we did not land. After we got around this island we came in sight of old Fort Sarpee,¹¹ we

¹⁰ Here today is the little town of Bighorn below Billings.

¹¹ Fort Sarpy was built by the American Fur Co. in 1850 and abandoned in 1860.

stopped here and cooked our supper, all that remains of this old fort is two chimneys, this fort is on the south side at a bend in the river.

While we were encamped here, the Mackinaw fleet we left the day before, came up and passed us, after supper we started and caught up with the rest of the fleet about three miles below and we all camped together for the night, having made about eighty miles, our camping ground this night was under a high bank, which bank was on south side of the river and covered with cottonwood trees.

October 3.—We were afloat very early this morning with the rest of the fleet the pilot did not threaten us with hemp, but told us to take our place in the fleet which we accordingly did. During the day we passed a great many red sand stone cliffs described by Lewis & Clarke, and many other things described by them, among which were the Buffalo Shoals, these shoals are six miles in length, and the river is not more than two feet deep, in the deepest [24] place on these shoals, we were two hours crossing these on account of very often running aground, and the moment we would strike bottom all the men would jump overboard and push the boat off, and we would start on again.

The bottom of the river on these shoals is hard yellow sand stone. The fall of three feet, spoken of by Lewis & Clarke as being at the end of these shoals has worn down, and only a rapid marks the spot where sixty years ago there was a waterfall.

About twelve miles below the Buffalo Shoals we passed the mouth of Tongue River which comes in from the south, we passed this river about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Directly opposite the mouth of Tongue River is old Fort Alexander,¹² which was used as a trading post of the North West Fur Co., from 1825 until 1850, this fort was built by Alexander Culbertson, Esq. of Peoria, Ill. This fort is in the same condition as old Fort Sarpee, there being nothing left except two old chimneys.

Late in the afternoon we reached what is called the Bad Lands (proper) the cliffs with veins of coal grow more numerous, the cottonwood groves begin to disappear, and the soil is white sand, rapids [25] are also becoming less frequent.

¹² Fort Alexander was built by the American Fur Co. in 1839.

Our camping ground this night was in the bad lands on a sand bank, when we arrived the men enjoyed themselves by washing for Moss Agates¹³ and some very fine ones were found, some of the men went to hunting Elk and Deer, the bullets whizzed around a persons head as if a battle was going on, one Elk and one black tailed deer were all that was killed, we had Elk for supper, and slept in our boats.

October 4.—This morning we took two men on board to help row, whose names were Ben. Payne and———Lewis. We ran to-day with two sets of oars. Cottonwood trees we begin to miss. And the scenery changes into large bluffs with veins of coal, and high banks of different colored earth which were very beautiful. During the day we came to another place described by Lewis & Clarke known as Bear Rapid, this rapid is half a mile in length, and the stream is filled with very large boulders, some of these rocks are large enough to build a house on.

At noon today we landed to get wood and while looking around we came across a green wolf skin, and following on further, we came to fresh foot prints [26] and we being aware of the fact that no Caucasian Mongolian or African traveled in this part of the country alone, we came to the conclusion that the foot-prints belonged to an Indian, where upon we took caution to get into our boat, and strike for the middle of the river, we were behind most of day, at last night (which was always welcome) came, we camped in a grove of straggling trees, after supper we all went to work to rig a wail-pole for the boats, they were all finished by ten o'clock and looking through moonlight we could almost imagine a large harbor of commercial vessels in front of us, and for a description of what was at our back, I will refer my readers to the last part of Goldsmiths poem of the Deserted Village.

October 5.—This morning we arose at half past five, it was a very beautiful morning, and soon after starting we came in sight of blue mountains in the distance, we expected to reach the Missouri by evening, but we were deceived, we passed more of the red hills spoken of by Lewis & Clarke.

¹³ Montana ranks first of all the states in the Union in precious and semi-precious stones. There is much demand today for the agates of the Yellowstone.

At about nine o'clock we passed the mouth of Powder River, which comes from the south. At half past ten we heard a loud roaring ahead, [27] not unlike that of a waterfall, we expected the noise came from a rapid that we had dreaded from our start, which Lewis & Clarke called Wolf Rapid, from the fact of seeing a wolf on a boulder in the rapid, it was what we expected, soon after hearing the noise we came in sight of white surges in the distance, we sail on, the "Jeannie Deans" piloted by Davis entered the rapid first and in trying to avoid the white surges, landed on a rock.

The "Montana," piloted by R. J. Paulison of Haekensack, N. J., followed Davis and got on a rock at the bow, the current then took the boat around and it struck on a boulder at the stern, it was now aground both at bow and stern, and in a helpless condition. Our boat came next piloted by Edward Hosmer, who made for the white waves, the rest followed us, and all passed through in safety, except No. 6. which received a slight injury at the head of the rapid, Davis' boat got on a rock close to another that stuck out of the water, and one man got out and pushed it off, Paulison as this boat passed threw a rope, which was caught, and they all got off safely. This rapid is almost as wild as those of the Niagara or St. Lawrence rivers. [28]

We camped below and looked at a vein of coal. Wolf Rapid is the last rapid of the Yellowstone, and by far the worst. Today the scenery was large bluffs and high banks. At evening we camped on a sand bank about a quarter of a mile from a small clump of trees, to which place we had to go for wood, some of our men while out after wood, came across an old Indian lodge, and in this lodge they found an old log covered with hieroglyphics, which were made with some black substance. We drew a sketch of these hieroglyphics, and I have tried to have them interpreted but as yet have succeeded no further than to find out that they belong to the Blackfeet Indians.

During the evening a very beautiful Aurora Borealis appeared in the north and lit up the whole surrounding country. These lights were so bright, and the night air was so chilly, that we could imagine ourselves in the Polar seas very easily.

The man whom I have mentioned as ————Lewis left us this night and took another boat.

October 6.—We left this morning in advance of the other boats, but were passed soon after, and were behind most of the day there being only one [29] or two Flat boats with us.

At nine o'clock we passed the last place described by Lewis & Clarke which they called York's Dry Creek, this comes from the north, there is only a bed of a creek comes in here.

At about ten o'clock we saw as we supposed, Indians hunting Buffalo, but were not certain whether it was or not, we being behind the others, it was most likely imagination.

We have been looking for the Missouri all day but see no signs as yet, the river is wider and the banks are like the Missouri. In the afternoon we came to a place where the river looked as if it had stopped, one of the men of the flat boat saw this, and said in a forlorn hope sort of a tone "I guess the river's played out," but the river had not played out. We sailed on and about four o'clock we came to the mouth of a small stream that comes in from the east, the name of which I did not learn, at its mouth it is so rapid, that it and the Yellowstone together forms a whirlpool, we whirled around once and then got out.

At evening we caught up with the rest of the boats which were encamped at Braseau's¹⁴ Houses.

[30] These houses as they are called, are situated on a plain covered with brush and are a little back from the river, they were used as a trading post for the North West Fur Company, but like the other two nothing remains except chimneys.

The "Montana" was taken out this evening and fixed for an injury received on Wolf Rapid. After supper two of the flat boats started out to run all night. This night we slept on shore.

October 7.—We arose at three o'clock and were off at four, soon after starting a large drove of Elk crossed the river right in front of our boat, some one asked what they were and Payne answered "they must be either Antelopes or Leopards," this raised a laugh, although Payne seemed to be in good earnest all the time.

Passing a bluff in the forenoon the inmates of each boat began to fire we waited to see what they were firing at and

¹⁴Braseau's Houses were built by a trader named Braseau or Brazeau about 1830.

found it to be a Big Horn, who was standing about half up the bluff which was perpendicular, and as every shot was fired the animal would shrug up against the bank as if, to avoid the bullets. Finally one of the men belonging to the "Otter" killed it, and with difficulty succeeded [31] in getting it.

To-day we passed a great many curiously formed banks resembling mason work. The banks grow lower and the river wider. We sailed along a little behind the fleet all day. About three o'clock we heard a tremendous firing a little way ahead, we did not know but what the other boats had been attacked by Indians, but it was not so, after going on about a mile, we found the meaning of the firing was that the boats had reached the looked for Missouri.

Where the Yellowstone empties into the Missouri it is about a mile wide, below the mouth the Missouri is the same width as the Yellowstone, but above the mouth it is not much more than wide enough for a good sized steamer to pass through.

We took a farewell look at the Yellowstone and sailed on, after going two miles we passed Ft. William²⁵ an old ruined fort that was used by the North West Fur Company, some years ago.

We sailed down seven miles and camped for supper, Dr. Bradway of the Otter, made us a present of some Bighorn and we had a very good supper.

After supper (knowing there were no rapids ahead) we started for a nights sail.

[32] At seven o'clock the moon rose just as we were passing the Glass Hills, these hills are on the south side of the river, they receive their name from their smooth appearance, while passing these hills the boys amused themselves by hallooming and hearing the echo, which reminded us of the Hudson Highlands, it being very distinct, they soon got tired of hallooming, after they got through, an Englishman, on No. 6 sang the song "When first I went to sea," he sung it very well, and we felt quite at home during the evening.

At eleven o'clock we hauled up on a sand bar, all the men jumped overboard and we were soon off, after getting off the

²⁵ Fort William was built for Sublette and Campbell in 1823, and abandoned the next year when the American Fur Co. bought out the former.

bar Davis turned his boat upstream and ordered his men to row, and turning to the rest of the fleet, with a loud voice said "follow me boys," but we had just come from that direction and we had no idea of going back, so we all turned down stream, as soon as this "Ancient Mariner" discovered his mistake he turned his boat around, but his dignity of superior pilot was somewhat lessened.

October 8.—We landed at half past three for breakfast under a high bank, and were off at five, we sailed through a desolate looking country all day [33] during the day we passed the mouth of the Big Bombese or as it is often called the Big Muddy river, at this river there is a large bend in the Missouri which is about half a mile across, and twelve miles around.

At five o'clock we landed for supper, and to wait for the moon to rise, while here we made an arrangement with a man whom we called "Jack" (who belonged to the "Gipsy Nell") to come on board and help row, he had been on two or three whaling expeditions, and was tatooed all over. at nine o'clock the moon rose and we started and sailed all night.

October 9.—This morning we landed on a sand bar at six o'clock for breakfast, after breakfast we started and sailed on with a head wind all day.

In the afternoon we passed White Earth River, this river comes in on the north side, and at its mouth the ground is very white, this is 185 miles below the mouth of the Yellowstone. Late in the afternoon we were hailed by one of the Flat boats who told us that a Crow Indian hailed one of Van Cleve's boats in the morning and told them that a great number of Indians were lying in wait for our fleet, this put us on our guard.

This evening we encamped on the south side [34] of the river in a thicket of willows for supper, and when the moon rose we sailed on.

October 10.—This morning before daylight we were hailed by some Indians in the following words, "Charley come out cheer," as soon as we heard this all heads were down, and rifles were taken in hand, but as the Indians did not fire at us, we thought we would follow their example.

This day it was very windy and also very cold, at seven o'clock we landed to get wood, and after getting some we started.

The country through which we are now passing belongs to the Assinaboines, which are a very treacherous tribe of Indians, they go on the principle of to-day a friend to-morrow an enemy.

Soon after breakfast we passed the mouth of the Little Missouri River, it is a small stream and comes from the south.

During the morning Schmidt got a little mad and wasn't going to row, and made himself disagreeable generally, finally Major Barrett spoke up and said now you can see the reality of Mr. Lincoln's joke the difference between an Amsterdam dutchman, or any other * * * dutchman," this raised a laugh, [35] and succeeded in quieting Schmidt.

In the forenoon we came to an Indian Village situated on the north side of the river, two Indians came out to meet us in a bull boat (a bull boat is a round boat made of hide and ash wood, only two persons can ride in it, a person must get into a bull boat close to the shore or at least in shallow water, because if they get on from a stermer or row boat, they are in danger of being upset.) these Indians traded a Buffalo robe for one of our blankets, we found out that these Indians belonged to the Arickarees or as they are more commonly called the Ree tribe, this tribe is about 800 in number.

Soon after leaving the Indians we overtook one of Bivens' boats, that left us at the canyon of the Yellowstone, they told us that they had been fired into once since they started. We sailed on through a head wind all day. Late in the afternoon Major Barrett shot a wild goose on the wing, we got it, and had a first class supper.

At five o'clock we turned a curve in the river, and right in front of us was Fort Berthold,¹⁰ this fort is situated on a very high bank with a vein of coal running through it, this coal is all that they use at the fort [36] for fires.

At this place there is an Indian Village of the Gros Ventres, Mandans and Rees, which three tribes consists of about 2500 people, they have died off with small pox, and what remains of these three tribes have joined themselves together for the purpose

¹⁰ Fort Berthold was built by the American Fur Co. in 1845 and became a military fort in 1865. It was abandoned in 1867.

of defending themselves from the hostilities of the Sioux and Assinaboines, at this place we met an old Indian of the Gros Ventres, whom they called "Long Hair" on account of his hair being so long that it nearly touched the ground, and he prized it very highly, he had lost his daughter, he explained her dying to us as well as he could by signs, and in mourning for her he had cut his hair close to his head.

Here we met Captain Bassett with sixty rebel soldiers who were guarding the fort, we visited the sutlers store and bought some canned grapes, damsons, etc.

We overtook the whole of Bivens' fleet here, and two large flat boats from Fort Benton, which went by the names of Helena City and Raw Hide Clipper.

We were told here that we had better go through [37] Painted Woods an Indian Village eighty miles below with a good force, the reason they gave, was, that every boat that had passed through there the foregoing spring, had been fired into, so we made preparations for that place, and then retired for the night.

October 11.—This morning we arose at six o'clock, we got breakfast, and then went to look at an Indian Cemetery, about a quarter of a mile from the fort, these Indians bury their dead on scaffolds, but when they are "great big," such as a Chief, Soldier or Medicine Man, they stick them up on poles. This is the most ghastly looking place I ever was in, at every step you take you can see skulls and bones lying under the scaffolds and poles exposed to the human eye and winds of heaven.

After viewing this last resting place of the poor red man, we turned our steps toward our boat.

We started with a head wind and sailed down three miles into Dancing Bear Bend, and drew up to the shore to wait for the wind to cease, it being so strong that we could hardly move, the other boats stopped with us, we made some large fires and spent the day as well as we could under the circumstances. [38]

My readers will see by adding up the number of boats spoken of heretofore, that they amount to more than thirty six. I have failed to say that a great number of the German Flats foundered coming from Immigrant Gulch to the starting point.

At two o'clock the wind ceased and we got into our boats and set sail. After going eight miles we came to Ceree¹⁷ Bend, here Davis who had most of the boats under his command ran down two miles into a pocket then had to turn around and row back I think he thought his occupation was gone after this, because all the boats left him, that is, they would not follow him, he sent word on by another boat to have the fleet land we did not obey, until after sailing four miles, when we all camped together under Manuels Rock, we made a fire of coal, had a very good supper, and then retired. Manuels Rock, is a lone rock on the east side, of a bend in the river, about fifteen miles below Fort Berthold.

October 12.—We started at six o'clock, thirty six boats in number, we had a cold head wind most of the day, at about three o'clock we passed the old Mandan Village, where Lewis and Clarke spent the winter [39] of 1803-4. the site where the village was is on the west side of the river, on a small bank, about two hundred yards from the water, a few sticks stuck up in the ground are all that marks the spot where the Mandan Nation (who now have their reservation at Fort Berthold,) once lived, this tribe numbers about 400.

Six miles below the Mandan Village we passed old Fort Clarke,¹⁸ where the North Pacific Railroad is designed to cross the Missouri, Fort Clarke is a high bluff, and the remains of a fence are all that may be seen. We sailed on about four miles and all camped together among some willows having made about sixty miles.

October 13.—We all started at four o'clock, and at nine o'clock we passed through Painted Woods, this is a narrow place in the river, with thick woods on each side, which affords a good ambush.

In the summer of 1864 a mackinaw boat with twenty five persons on board started through this place, and got aground, their powder had got wet so they could not use their guns. The Indians attacked them, and they had to rely on a howitzer for

¹⁷ Named for the Cerre brothers, early traders who had a post at the mouth of the Teton.

¹⁸ Fort Clark, named for Gen. William Clark, was fifty-five miles north of the Northern Pacific crossing at Bismarck. It was built for the American Fur Co. in 1831.

protection, but that soon knocked a hole through [40] their boat, and they were forced to give themselves up. The Indians massacred them all.

About one o'clock we passed the mouth of Hart River, some Indians appeared on the bank with a white flag, we supposed from this that they were friendly, but when they invited us to come on shore we did not accept their invitation, the boats were all ahead except the "Raw Hide Clipper," which was with us.

Hart river is a stream of clear water, and comes into the Missouri from the west side, under a high bluff, at a bend in the river.

We sailed on with a head wind, and at evening we passed the other boats which were encamped on Burnt Boat Island, this island receives its name from the steamer "Assinaboine," which was burnt off this island, it is sometimes called Assinaboine Island, but not very often, we sailed on all night.

At about eleven o'clock we came across an old Buffalo bull who was swimming the river, our boys fired several shots at him, but did not succeed in killing him, so we landed, and followed him over a sandy plain about a mile, and then succeeded in bringing him to the ground, we butchered him, [41] and took half on board of the "Raw Hide Clipper," and the other half we took ourselves.

During the night we passed Fort Rice,¹⁰ without seeing it, and were looking for it all the next day, but having come up the river since, I can explain its situation. It is situated on an elevated bank, on the west side of the river, and is backed by the open prairie. The river at this place is about a mile wide, and is very shallow, this is the largest fort on the river and is directly opposite the place where Sully and Sibley had their battle with the Santee Sioux.

October 14.—Early this morning we passed the mouth of Cannon Ball river, the mouth of this river is filled with rocks of different sizes, all of which are round like a cannon ball, it is from these that the river receives its name, this comes in on the west side ten miles below Fort Rice .

¹⁰ Fort Rice, a military post built in 1864, was located six miles above the mouth of the Cannon Ball River.

After going twenty three miles further we came to Beaver River which comes in from the east.

Before reaching Beaver River, we were followed seven or eight miles, by an Indian, who hailed us, but we somehow did not like his countenance, and therefore did not land, when he found he could not [42] get us to go on shore, he hallooed some gibberish which we understood to be, that some Dakotah Indians wanted to make a treaty with us, but we gave him to understand that we had nothing for that purpose, and so he left us.

During the day we passed the mouth of Grand River, this is a small stream and comes in from the west, this was all of account that happened this day, but during the night we got hard aground, everybody jumped overboard, and in three quarters of an hour we were off and sailing on.

October 15.—About seven o'clock we passed the mouth of Moreau River, this river comes in from the west, when we passed there was a small rise, and this stream, although small, came in with great rapidity, sending water so thick with mud that we could see it floating, we had nothing to settle our coffee, but if my readers had seen the bottom of our cups, they would say we had something to thicken it.

We sailed on with a head wind all day. About noon we saw a steamer some distance ahead, every body was making up their minds to desert the boat, we sailed on, and a little below the mouth of the [43] Little Cheyenne River, we came to the boat, it was the steamer "Belle Peoria," but was high and dry on a sand bar about eighty yards either way to water, we went on board of her and looked around, we found three barrels of coal oil, and the cabin furniture all there, but the boat was deserted, we were here about an hour, and then proceeded down the river, after going about four miles we stopped to gather bull berries, these berries are like the red currant, we had a head wind all day, toward night we were hailed by a party of soldiers, whom we at first thought were Indians, and we made tracks for the opposite side of the river, but when we found that they spoke English we landed, we found that one of their horses had given out, and that a soldier wanted to go on with us, we consented, and he came on board, night came on, and it was very dark, so

dark that we could not see where to go, so we tied up under a high bank for the moon to rise and then started on.

October 16.—This morning was a very pleasant one. We sailed along with a sail raised most of the day.

At eleven o'clock we passed the mouth of the Big Cheyenne [44] River, the water in this river is of a milkish hue, this river comes in from the west.

Soon after passing the Cheyenne we were passed by the rest of fleet, they travelled with us until evening, when they camped on the west bank of the river, and we went on.

Soon after leaving them the wind began to blow very hard, we raised the sail, and went along very nicely until we reached the mouth of a small stream which goes by the name of Shanty River, here we hauled up rather quick on a sand bar, with difficulty succeeded in lowering the sail, then came thunder and lightning, Payne was cooking his supper at the time, and he got frightened, and he would very often say "we'll all be killed, we'll all be struck by lightning, there's too much iron on this boat," and other expressions which showed that he was fearful that his day had come. Finally it began to rain, and Payne was going to be on the safe side, so he takes his coffee-pot and empties its contents into the fire, when he found the coffee did not extinguish it, he takes a bucket full of the Missouri and tries that, with this he succeeds. The storm still continues, and Payne still complains of the lightning [45], to the great amusement of the rest of our party. After raining about an hour the storm ceased, most of the men jumped overboard and soon got the boat off the bar, we raised the sail and started, and we felt like saying in the language of the poet.

"How calm, how beautiful comes on
The stilly hour, when storms are gone
When warring winds have died away,
And clouds, beneath the glancing ray,
Melt off, and leave the land and sea
Sleeping in bright tranquility!"

After getting off the bar we sailed down one mile and camped on a high bank, the men had to go half a mile for wood

to make a fire, and there was but one dry match in the outfit, and with this they succeeded in lighting the fire.

Soon after our arrival Major Barrett (who was fixing the fire) went to the boat, and asked Payne (who was yet excited) to hand him some kindlings, Payne answers "get them yourself if you want them." Barrett then told him not to be a fool, Payne then said "you call me a fool? where's my gun?" after rummaging around awhile he found his gun, [46] he cocks it and levels it at Barrett, who squares himself and says, "shoot," with this he lowered his gun, took his blankets, and started for the woods to retire, we slept in the boat in wet clothing and wet blankets.

October 17.—We started this morning before sunrise, and went along "kiting", as the saying is.

After going seventeen miles, we passed Fort Pierre,²⁰ this is on the west side of the river, and all that remains of it is a number of old chimneys, this place is considered half way from St. Louis to Fort Benton, we did not stop at this place.

At about noon we came in sight of a steamer tied up at the Fort Sully Landing, again the crew were going to desert the boat, we sailed on and found the steamer to be the "Calypso," which is in the employ of the Government, for the use of the Indian Commission who had come up to treat with the Sioux Indians.

Major Barrett and our family left the mackinaw for the steamer. In the afternoon the mackinaws started, and we started to visit Fort Sully, which is about a mile from the river bank. This Fort consists of one stockade, three sutler stores, one billiard hall, [47] and while we were there the fort was surrounded by Indian tiepies, or as they are more commonly called, wigwams, after looking around a while we returned to the boat, about supper time, the "grub" looked a great deal better than any we had seen since we left Virginia.

And I being aware of the fact that I had nothing to eat, since the preceding morning, made up my mind that I was hungry, and took steps accordingly.

October 18.—The Indian Commission consisted of the fol-

²⁰ Ft. Pierre was established in 1832 and named in honor of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., head of the Upper Missouri Outfit of the American Fur Company. For an account of this expedition see Frederic L. Paxson's *The Last American Frontier* (New York, 1910), p. 263.

lowing, Major General Curtis, of Keokuk, Brigadier General Sibley of Minnesota, Rev. Mr. Reed, of Epworth, Iowa, Hon. Orrin Guernsey and son, of Janesville, Wisconsin, Brevet Lieut. Col. Curtis of Fort Leavenworth, Messrs. Ruth and Hitt of Washington, Dr. Wood and family of Pittsburgh, Hon. Newton Edmunds, Governor of Dakotah, E. B. Taylor of Omaha, Hon. A. W. Hubbard of Sioux City, and Captains Morrisson, Mott and Maurice.

During the day the commission listened to a speech made by Shon-kah-wak-kon-ke-desh-kah or Spotted Horse third chief of the Two Kettle band of Sioux.

[48] Speeches were also made by some of the leading men of the Blackfeet, Minneconjou and Sans Arc, band of Sioux, and concluded with a speech from Ah-ke-tche-tah-hon-sah or Tall Soldier, one of the chiefs of the Oukpahpah²¹ band of Sioux this chief is a tall savage looking fellow, and is said to be a great friend of the whites, we had very good meals on the boat and felt quite at home.

In the evening we visited the Indian camp, and saw them dance, I will explain as well as I can their mode of dancing. They form a circle composed of four or five males, and the same number of females, then the old chief begins to halloo and jump up and down, soon after this the squaws join in the chorus and thus they keep it up, until morning light appears.

"Making night hideous, and we fools of nature.

So horridly to shake our disposition,

With thoughts beyond the reaching of our soul."

After witnessing their dance, and hearing their unearthly yells, we returned to our boat, more enlightened, as to the Indian character.

October 19.—This morning we saw a very fine eclipse of the sun.

[49] The Commissioners held council today with the Two Kettle (hostile) band of Sioux, the tribe was represented by the following named chiefs and soldiers, viz—Chiefs Cha-tan-scah, or White Hawk. E-to ke-ah, or The Hump, Shon-kah-wak-kon-ke-desh-kah, or Spotted Horse, Mah-tah-to-pah, or Four Bears,

²¹ Hunkpapa.

Chantayomeneomene, or Whirling Heart, Mahtonahachah, or The Bear that is like him, and Tahboohazahnompob, or Two Lances, the last named individual made a speech of two hours and a half in length, in which, the following was some of his language.

"You wish us to go and plant corn, God gave us the heavens and the earth, the Buffalo and a little stick (meaning the arrow) we use the arrow to slay the Buffalo, we have always done it, we have planted corn, and when the frost did not destroy it, the whiteman generally did, we do not want you to build forts upon our lands. We do not like to see these piles of little earth that you throw up, for we know that roads will soon follow, they will frighten the Buffalo away, and the Buffalo is what we live upon and when it goes the red man goes too. [50] Can't you see it? You know this, and you lie when you say you don't. We will be at peace with you, if you will let us alone. We show you our papers, there is not an arrow or a ball on them. They were given to us by the big chief who swears (meaning General Harney), the chief with the grey beard.

"Tell our Great Father (meaning the President) these things." In this manner this man continued and gave the commission much trouble, but finally came forward and touched the pen six times, once for each offense that he had against the government.

I copy the above report of the speech of "Two Lances," from a letter to the "Montana Post" by one of our company, from Fort Sully.

After the above named chief had finished, the soldier "Whirling Heart," who had become a little vexed at the speech of "Two Lances," came forward and said, "who's afraid to touch that pen, I'll touch it with my hands and feet," whereupon he touched the pen with both hands and both feet.

The above speeches were spoken in the Indian tongue, and interpreted by a Frenchman named Zephier Recontre, and he would always commence his interpretations in the following manner. [51] "He says, says he, that he says," after going through with this rignmarole he would tell what the Indian said, but that was always the commencement of his interpretations.

After this was over we returned to the boat and got dinner. After dinner we returned to the fort to hear the council with the Blackfeet²² (hostile) band of Sioux, this tribe was so wild that it was with difficulty that the commissioners succeeded in getting the head men into council.

This tribe was represented by the following, viz. Wah-hah-chunk-i-ah-pee, or The One that is used as a Shield, Wah-mun-dee-wak-kon-o, or War Eagle. Oya-hin-di-a-man-nee, or the track that rings when it walks, and Shon-kah-hon-skah, or Lost Dog, a speech was made by the former and a treaty effected.

October 20.—The most interesting thing that took place to-day was the distribution of goods to the Two Kettle band heretofore spoken of. Early this morning the deck hands were at work unloading the boat of over 200 boxes of Pilot Bread.

And wagons came from the fort with Coats, hats, calicoes, sugar, coffee, blankets, hams, powder and bullets. [52]

After the goods were all landed, the squaws came and opened the boxes that contained the goods, and took what was given them by Captains Morrisson and Mott, and then started with their packs, some of which weighed over a hundred pounds, but these women seemed to shoulder their load very easily and would carry them to fort without stopping to rest, the men would stand around and tell the women what to take.

Dr. Wood's family and our folks were coming from the fort to the boat, and we heard as we supposed a person singing we went to see from whence the noise came, and found an old squaw wringing her hands and crying like a good fellow, we found interpreter and asked him to find out what the matter was. From her story it appeared that she was one of the squaws of "Spotted Horse," and that she had got into difficulty with another squaw, and the other squaw had given her a whipping and a couple of hard tack and told her to leave that she couldn't have any thing more, so she fled to the willows, and began crying, and muttering curses on the other squaws.

[53] This day a council was held with Brule band of Sioux, this band was represented by the following chiefs, Muz-zah-wy-

²² The Blackfeet, a small division of the Teton Sioux.

ah-tay, or Iron Nation, Tah-ton-kah-wak-kon, or Medicine Ball, Pta-son-we-chak-ay, or the One who Killed the white Buffalo Cow. She-o-tche-cah, or Little Pheasant, and Pta-san-man-nee, or the white Buffalo Cow that walks.

A treaty was effected with the above named individuals.

Having spoken of all the councils that I attended, I will now give you a list of the population of Dakotah.

Whites		500
Yancton Sioux (friendly)		2530
Ponka	"	1100
Santee	" (hostile)	1043
Brules	" "	4800
Ogalala	" "	3065
Two Kettle	" "	780
Minneconjo	" "	2220
Yanctonais	" "	4200
Onkpahpah	" "	1225
Sans Arc	" "	1175
Blackfeet	" "	1200
[54] Wandering Sioux	"	800
Cheyennes	"	3000
Araphahoes	"	2800
Gros Ventres	} (friendly)	2500
Arriparees		
Mandans		
Crows	(changeable)	3500
Assinaboines	"	3280
Total		39718

Today we visited the fort three times during the day and once in the evening. During the evening Captain Rea's Mackinaw boat from Fort Benton, called the "Deer Lodge",²³ arrived, this boat was ninety feet long and twelve feet wide. Captain Rea came on board our boat and spent the evening.

October 21.—We visited Captain Rea's boat in the forenoon and saw a few men from Virginia, this boat was very comfort-

²³ The Deer Lodge was a new boat and arrived in Ft. Benton four times in 1865.

able, but we preferred the "Calypso," we visited the fort once, and loafed around the boat during the day, nothing else of account happened.

October 22.—To-day being Sunday we were on the boat most of the day, in the evening the Rev. Mr. Reed [55] delivered a sermon on "Faith," it was a very fine discourse.

October 23.—We are still in quarters and do not know when we will get away. It is raining and snowing, consequently we spent the day in the cabin. The pilot begins to complain, and says, "it will be impossible to get the boat down this season," the river is falling two or three inches every twenty four hours, and dark prospects of getting down begin to loom up, we have very good meals, and have to enjoy ourselves by sitting in the cabin.

October 25.—Still in quarters and no prospect of departing very soon.

October 25.—A messenger arrived about noon from Col. Pattee, and reported to the Commissioners, that he left the Colonel the night before, one hundred miles back on the Fort Rice road, with fifty Indians belonging to the Ogalala Sans Arc, Minneconjou, Onkpahpah and Blackfeet bands of Sioux, and would be at Fort Sully²² in four days, and they wanted the Commissioners to wait, and treat with them.

The river is still falling, and the pilot is still complaining.

[56] In the evening the Commissioners held a meeting and passed a resolution, to the effect that, "If the Indians did not arrive on Thursday the boat should start on Friday, after hearing this we retired hoping the Indians would not arrive.

October 26.—It is still very cold, and floating ice appears in the river, the pilot still complains and says he cannot get down. The Indians do not arrive, and the Commission agree that the boat shall start to-morrow, and General Curtis, Governor Edmunds, Judge Guernsey and Mr. Hitt, will remain and receive the Indians, and then go overland and meet the boat at Sioux City. We were all very glad to hear that the boat was

²²Fort Sully was a military post below Pierre established in 1863. For comments on this conference see Paxson, *op. cit.* p. 271-273, and Granville Stuart, *Forty Years on the Frontier*, (Cleveland, 1925), II, p. 69-73.

going to start in the morning, and the inmates of the boat spent the evening in playing muggins, euchre, whist, dominoes and backgammon.

October 27.—This morning at ten o'clock the fires were made in the furnaces, the above named gentlemen left the boat, and a company of soldiers commanded by Col. Thornton (commander of the post at Fort Randall²⁵) came on board.

At a quarter past eleven they fired a howitzer which meant they were ready to start. At a quarter [57] of twelve, the Calypso with her:

“streamers sailing in the wind,”

was afloat. Soon after starting there was a report that the boat was on fire we went to see where it was, and found the tar covering of the back deck to be in a blaze, but with a few buckets of water we succeeded in extinguishing it without it doing much damage. At two o'clock we stopped to wood, they soon got enough wood, and then they started, after going half a mile they stopped on account of a sandbar, which happened to come in our way, we soon got off, then sailed up stream four miles, and then crossed to the opposite side of the river, we then sailed down five miles and then stopped to wood again, at four o'clock we again started, we ran very nicely until we reached the foot of Roys Island (eight miles below Fort Sully,) when we again got aground, they began working with the spars, and they worked away until half past nine we got off, then we ran back to last place we took on wood, and camped there for the night.

October 28.—Early this morning the Captain took four men and a yawl and went down and sounded the water on the bar. At ten o'clock the boat [58] again started, and again struck the bar, they then began to work with the spars and nigger, and at two o'clock we got off, and started back to the old wood yard, we took on a good supply of wood, and then started down the river, we had no sooner reached the bar than we struck again, they again went to work and got off at eight in the evening, they were sounding the greater part of the time, and the deepest place on the bar was two feet, and the boat was drawing thirty inches.

²⁵ Fort Randall, a military post built in 1856, became military headquarters in place of Fort Pierre.

After getting off the bar we started back to the wood yard for the night.

Captain Morrisson of Keokuk, Iowa, (of whom I have heretofore spoken) was playing on a violin in the evening, while the ladies on the boat sung. I was passing behind his chair and accidentally touched his head, and then turned around to excuse myself, when, what should I behold but a wig on the floor and Captain Morrisson's bald pate exposed to view. He seemed a little embarrassed, but soon got his wig and put it on, amid the laughter of the passengers.

October 29.—This morning we again started, and were again stopped by the bar, at noon we got off. [59] The Captain now began to feel discouraged, and was going to take the boat back to Fort Sully and lay up for the winter, the Commission would not agree to this, but they made an agreement that everything should be taken from the boat and then try it once more, and if they did not succeed they could return to Sully for the winter. So they set sail up stream, and took on a large quantity of wood. They then started back, they landed at the head of the bar and put off all the cargo, except the ladies and children, the passengers and soldiers started on foot for the lower end of the bar, a distance of four miles, and the *Calypso* put on as much steam as she could without "bustin her biler," and then started for the bar, this time she succeeded in making it. We went down and got on board of her. We could not leave on account of the goods not being on board they had to send to the fort for wagons to take the cargo around the bar, they arrived late in the afternoon, and the goods on board by eight o'clock.

In the evening the Rev. Mr. Reed preached, after which we retired, rejoicing in the great event of the day.

October 30.—Started rather early, at seven o'clock [60] we passed old Fort George,²⁰ which is at the commencement of the Big Bend, nothing remains of this fort but two chimneys, they stand on a small bluff on the west side of the river.

We made a very good run to-day, but we were stopped by sand bars a great number of times, and as soon as we would stop the nigger and spars would be at work.

²⁰ Fort George was a fur trading post twenty-one miles below Fort Pierre, built in 1842 for Fox, Livingston and Co.

About noon we passed the mouth of Medicine Creek, it is a small stream and comes in from the east. It is said that its banks are covered with Prairie Dog Villages.

A great quantity of mush ice has been floating in the river to-day, and we have apprehensions that it will freeze up before we can get down.

We camped this night near the head of the Big Bend, the passengers spent the evening in playing games of different characters.

October 31.—Started this morning before daylight, and while we were at breakfast we heard a tremendous thumping on the bottom of the boat, cups of coffee were upset, the table was cleared, and the passengers all hurried to the deck to see what the matter was. It turned out to be a reef of rocks [61] which the boat had run on, they are very bad in low water, but when the river is high they can be passed over without any difficulty. The river at this season was very low, and was also filled with floating ice, and this hindered the pilot's steering. We were on these rocks until three o'clock in the afternoon, they had the spars at work a little while but they didn't seem to do any good, so they stopped them. After they found the spars would do no good, the mate and four men went ashore and made a "dead man." A "dead man" is four sticks planted in the ground, and an anchor or stout piece of wood is placed between them, (we used an anchor.) a rope was attached to the anchor, and brought on the boat, they then wound the rope around the capstan, which is worked by the nigger engine, we broke four hawsers, and then did not get off, so we tried a fifth one and with is succeeded, after getting off the boat swung, and hit another rock, the jar was so great that it sent a soldier overboard, he had on a heavy blue overcoat and cape, when he fell the cape went over his head, he managed to get this off from his head, and then struck out for shore, but before he got there he landed on a sand bar, [62] and waited for the yawl to come to his rescue. He was brought on board chilled through and his first words were "The boat was too slow for me, and I thought I could reach Fort Thompson" before it." Dr. Wood was ready with a hot whisky

⁶¹Fort Thompson was headquarters for the reservation of the Santee Sioux and Winnebago Indians. It was built in 1863.

toddy, the soldier partook of it and then visited a warm fire, at which place he spent the day.

This night we landed at the foot of the Big Bend, the crew made up their minds that they would land here for the winter, after landing they reported this to the Commission. Gen. Sibley told them they could land here, but the Government would not be responsible for their boat, after hearing this they said they'd make another trial. In the evening a number of the passengers visited Fort Thompson which is four miles by land from where we camped.

November 1.—Started before day-light. At eight o'clock we passed Fort Thompson, this is a very handsome fort, it is built of logs, and white washed, which gives it a good outward appearance it is situated on the east side of the river, it is a reservation of the Santee Sioux, this place also goes by the names of Crow Creek Agency and Ushers Landing.

[63] Just after passing Crow Creek Agency, we ran on a sand bar, and spent the day, we did not get off until after dark, we then went ashore and laid up for the night.

November 2.—Gen. Sibley, Col. Thornton and the soldiers left the boat this morning, to go by land to Fort Randall. They left us two Indian messengers, to put off at American Creek and White River, they were left to take word to Gen. Sibley, whether the boat could cross the bars at the above named places, or not, and if not they arranged it so as to bring wagons down, and take the passengers.

Major Shreve, a Paymaster in the U. S. A. came on board at this place. We started about ten o'clock and sailed along very nicely, at half past eleven we came in sight of American Creek, then came the thought "Now for another day's visit to a sand bar," but we passed over it all right, after passing the creek, we landed to let one of the Indians off and then started on. At two o'clock we came in sight of White River Bar, this is considered the worst bar in the Missouri River, as soon as the pilot saw the bar, he gave the signal to put on a good head of steam, [64] we rubbed across the bar, going at the rate of fifteen miles an hour and should we have struck I think some of the passengers would

have received a fall, just below the bar is White River, this is a small stream and comes in from the west, where it makes its exit into the Missouri, it is very shallow, the mouth of this stream is filled with white rock and the banks are bordered with straggling trees.

After getting past this river we landed to let the other messenger off, and as we left we could see him ascending and descending hills, until he was lost to view.

To-day we made sixty miles, but we could not get along without the daily disaster. The one that happened to-day was off St. Mary's Island, at which place the rudder of the boat came in contact with a sand bar and was unshipped, and it was with much trouble that the pilot succeeded in getting ashore.

November 3.—At an early hour we started, and at ten o'clock we passed the Bijou Hills, these hills are some five miles along the river, they are very high, and bare of verdure of any kind. These hills are the most picturesque scenery on the Lower Missouri. [65] We sailed on, and about noon we got aground off Little Cedar Island, we soon worked off, then we sailed up stream three quarters of a mile, and camped. The Captain and four men went to sound the bar, but they could not find a place deep enough for the boat to cross, so they returned with the expectation that the bar would wash away during the night.

November 4.—We had to stay all day, at the landing before mentioned, on account of a head wind, near the bank was a thicket of rose bushes. I was roving among these thorny plants, and tore my "Sunday Breeches," as soon as I discovered the rent. I found the chambermaid and had her sew them up, so it might not be seen, but three days afterwards a keen eye discovered the stitches, and wasn't there a few remarks made about my carelessness, "OH NO!"

The deck-hands gathered wood all day and most of the passengers spent the day in hunting, but like our Yellowstone rangers, brought nothing back with them.

November 5.—This morning we started very early, and about four o'clock we came in contact with a sand bar. One of the passengers who slept [66] in an upper berth said "the way

I found out that we had struck a bar, was by waking up and finding myself on the floor." We soon worked over the bar and was again sailing on.

Today the wind was not so strong, we made very poor progress, we stopped to wood several times during the day. At about three o'clock we came in sight of a flag-staff, and almost as soon as we saw it, a sand bar came in our way, and we stopped, the nigger and spars soon got us off and we sailed on.

After sailing about four miles we landed in a beautiful cottonwood grove, we walked through this grove which is about a half a mile in length, at the end of the grove is the village of Fort Randall, in the centre of the village is the fort (which is the handsomest one on the river.) inside of the fort are the Officers Quarters and Dwellings and the Parade Ground. Outside of the fort are the Residence of Gen. Todd, a Sutler's Store, a Photographic Gallery, a Block House, and a few private dwellings.

We all wanted to leave the boat, and take the stage for Sioux City, as soon as the Calypso landed my father hired an Indian to take him across the river in a dug-out, so that he could engage passage [67] in the coach, but they could not take our baggage and had a sideling road to cross on the banks of the Missouri and we remembering our disaster in the Gallatin Valley concluded not to take it.

My father went to visit Gen. Todd, and his son came with his horse and carriage, and took my sister and self out to graveyard, for a ride, it was getting dark, and one of them said they saw a ghost, as soon as the word "ghost" was uttered, the old horse was wheeled around and they started back to the fort at a rapid rate, but as soon as they had passed the first house in the village the horse lessened his speed. We drove around the village, and then returned to the boat.

November 6.—Left the fort before daylight. A short distance below Fort Randall, on the south side of the river some distance from the bank, is a large rock which is called the "Tower," from its shape, you can see it after passing Andy's Point, which is the grove before mentioned.

After going twelve miles we got aground, we soon worked

off, then sailed down two miles and landed at the Yankton Agency, they were here two hours taking account of stock, of some of the things [68] that the Commission left on their journey up the river. We went up into the village, and saw some Big Chiefs, among others was "Strike the Ree," head chief of the Yankton band of Sioux, while we were here, we bought some Moccasins, and Dr. Wood bought each of his little boys a pipe, and gave them some strong tobacco to smoke, and before the day was done the boys were sick a bed.

At half past two we reached the mouth of the Niobrara River, this comes in from the south west, at its mouth it is a quarter of a mile wide and also very shallow. The English name for this stream is Running Water, and the French name (by which it is more commonly known) is L'eau qui Court, we were on a bar at the mouth of this river for a half an hour, after getting off we again started. This river forms the boundary line between Dakotah and Nebraska. The country in this vicinity is claimed by the Ponka (friendly) band of Sioux. Two miles below the L'eau qui Court, on the Nebraska side of the river, is a little place containing four houses and is called Niobrara City.

At three o'clock we stopped to take on wood at a lone house on the Dakotah side of the river, fifteen miles [69] below the last named city, we stopped here for the night.

November 7.—We were detained at the lone house (on account of a head wind) until four o'clock when we again started on our winding way. After sailing seven miles we passed Bonhomme Town, this town is built principally of logs, and is situated on a high hill, on the Dakotah side of the river, we sailed along very nicely until we reached the west end of Bonhomme Island, when one of "these yere things you call bars," came in our way, we soon spared off, and ran down to east end of the island, where we got aground between two snags, we stayed here until eleven o'clock when we succeeded in getting off, we then went ashore.

About eight o'clock in the evening, while one of the deck-hand's was fixing the spar, the rope broke, and a large sized pully came in collision with his head, and laid him senseless on the forecastle. Dr. Wood attended him and he was at work the next day.

November 8.—We waited until eight o'clock for Dr. Burleigh's folks, who were going down on the boat, finally they arrived, and got on board, then we could not start on account of the absence of Captain [70] Mott and the Second Pilot, who were out on a hunting expedition, after blowing the whistle a dozen times, they made their appearance, crawling along under the willows that grew on the water's edge, they had no game, but said they had fired at a rabbit and missed it. The boat then started, and we sailed along down, feeling as if we were reaching civilization once more. During the forenoon we passed some small cities which go by the names of Frankfort and Tepeota, but they not having more than three houses each, there is no use to dwell upon them.

Eighteen miles below Bonhomme, we passed Smutty Bears Camp, this is a low, marshy bottom on the Dakotah side of the river, and is where "Smutty Bear," a leading chief of the Yankton Indians, had his camp many many years ago.

During the morning we got aground twice, but got off without much difficulty. My readers will notice in the List of the population of Dakotah, I have set the population of whites down at 500 it should have been 5000.

At eleven o'clock we came in sight of houses on an elevated bank on the Dakotah side, this was by far [71] the largest place we had seen since we left the Mountains, we went on and landed. The town was Yankton, the Capital of Dakotah Territory. This place is on an elevated bank that is washing into the river at a rapid rate. This town has no streets but is scattered about in spots. The Capitol is a three story frame building, and looks more like a school-house than a place where they make laws, there are two groceries, and one hotel which they call the "Ash House," and there are also some very handsome private residences at this place.

We were at Yankton an hour, and then started, at half past one we passed the mouth of James or Jaques River, this river is very wide at its mouth, and there is also a very bad bar at this place, but we escaped it (How Strange.)

At half past three we arrived at the city of St. Helena (not the one that Napoleon was banished to, but a more desolate

looking one, unless the pictures flatter the other one very much.) This city contains one house and a saw-mill, when we got down to this place we found we couldn't go any further on account of a sand bar, and we couldn't cross on account of a bar, so we were pocketed, [72] had to go up the river three miles, and then cross to the opposite side. After getting out of this scrape we went along very nicely, and hauled up for the night near the mouth of Bow River. During the evening we had a dance on the back deck, while we were dancing, there appeared in the distance a prairie on fire, the blaze of which loomed up over the tree tops, and looked very beautiful.

November 9.—This morning we were off at four o'clock, at ten o'clock we passed Vermillion City, we did not stop. We made a very good run today, and camped for the night near the Heron's Roost.

November 10.—We were afloat early. About breakfast time we passed through the Heron' Roost, this is a very narrow place in the river it being not more than a hundred feet wide, and very deep.

We sailed on, at nine o'clock we stopped to take on wood, at what is known as the Dragoons Camp, this place is six miles from Sioux City, by land, and thirty five miles by water, we got wood enough to last us a short time and then started. Six miles below Dragoons Camp we passed a small place called St. John City.

[73] We spent a great part of the fore noon in the cabin, on account of the wind being very strong. After dinner we ventured on deck, and a short distance ahead saw a yellow sand stone bluff; this is the first I remember of seeing since leaving old Fort Clarke. At the foot of this bluff was the mouth of a river, I asked what river it was, and was informed that it was the Big Sioux, which forms the boundary between Dakotah and Iowa, just after passing this, we came in sight of houses, Judge Hubbard told me this was Sioux City. We had really reached the States and our "har" was on our head.

We soon arrived at the landing, got our baggage ashore, and left the boat. We went to the Wauregan House and got rooms,

and had made ourselves contented until Sunday night when the stage started for the rail-road.

Rev. Mr. Reed, Judge Hubbard, O. D. Barrett, Dr. Wood, and family, and our folks, left the boat.

The Wauregan House, is on the river bank, and is shaded by four or five maple trees. In the evening the inmates of the boat and hotel, had a supper and dance, I being tired went to bed.

November 11.—This morning when we arose, we saw [74] the Calypso winding her way under Floyd's Bluff,²⁸ this was the last we saw of her she was sunk by a cake of ice, at levee in St. Louis, the following month.

How changed was the Wauregan to-day, from what it was last night, when:

"mirth, and song, and wine,"

ruled the hour. In a sequestered room, in the upper story of the hotel, lay a man, far from his family, closed in the arms of death.

"For him no more blazing-hearth shall burn,

Or busy housewife ply her evening care,

No children run to lisp their sire's return,

Or climb his knee's, the envied kiss to share."

I spent the day in looking around the city, got some hosiery, and other necessary clothing.

Sioux City is situated in the north-western part of Iowa, two miles from the Dakotah line. It is a place of about one thousand inhabitants, and is built principally of frame buildings. It has one hotel which furnishes very good vituals, but I can't say the same for the beds, (may be its because I had to sleep on the floor.) There is only one business street in this city, the rest are occupied by private [75] residences, and some of them are very handsome.

November 12.—I spent most of the day at the hotel. In the afternoon I attended the funeral of the gentleman spoken of on the 74th page. After this was over, I took a walk out to a saw-mill at the upper end of the city, I returned to the hotel about six o'clock got supper, then visited the parlor, where I spent the evening.

²⁸ Here was buried one of Lewis and Clark's most valued men. See Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Thwaites' ed. (N. Y., 1904), Vol. I, p. 114.

At nine o'clock P. M., the stage drove up in front of the hotel, and only fourteen got on board, besides the baggage and express matter, there were three seats in the coach, and ten occupied them, the other four rode outside with the driver. After going a mile, we all had to get out of the coach, to walk across the bridge over Floyd Creek, because the bridge was full of holes, we took a look at it. In the Middle States, people would hardly trust themselves to walk across such bridges as these, let alone driving a heavily loaded team over. After getting across we all crowded in, and the rattling of the old coach was once more heard.

At twelve o'clock we arrived at American Town, twenty miles from Sioux City, I wanted to see what sort of a town it was, and with difficulty got a peep through [76] the window, and saw the town, this town contains one house and a barn, the people in this country go on the principle of one house a village, two houses a town, and three or more houses a city.

We left this place with a drunken driver named Macklehaney. After going eight miles we came to a bridge, and this fine specimen of a driver, missed the road. The passengers were all asleep, we felt an unusual jar, we woke up and found one side of the coach, five feet higher than the other, the wheels on left hand side had gone off the bridge, we all hurried to the door, and such scrambling was never seen before. Lieut. Rouse, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., got to the door and was seized with cramps, and it was fun to see them pitch out over him.

A few stayed back and got the coach out of difficulty, while the rest walked on, this was the first night I ever walked on the open prairie, the night was calm, and falling stars could be seen in all parts of the heavens, and we had a very nice tramp "by the beautiful light of the moon," after going two miles the coach overtook us. We jumped in, and we were soon in the land of Morpheus.

[77] *November 13.*—When we awoke, the old coach was still rumbling along over the prairie. At seven o'clock we entered a very pretty grove, through this grove flows the Little Sioux River, which we crossed, this river empties into the Missouri, 106 miles below Sioux City, we drove on a short distance

and halted in front of two dirty looking log cabins, the driver informed us that this was the breakfast station, and such a breakfast was never before seen for a dollar. We had beef steak which was tough that we could hardly chew it, two pieces of fried potatoes, a very small cup of coffee, sweetened with brown sugar, bread and molasses, the house was as filthy as a barn, and two or three dirty looking children stood looking at us, but the best thing of the lot, was charging a dollar, to make it pay (as they said.) We asked the name of the place, and they said it was Correctionville, (a very suggestive name.) We left on foot as soon as possibility would allow, the coach overtook us a mile beyond this place, where they correct people that make hogs of themselves. We had a very good driver from this place, to the next, which was Ida Grove, where we arrived for dinner, this is a very pretty place and we [78] got a very good dinner here. This place is situated on a steep hill, at the foot of the hill flows Maple Creek, (one of the tributaries of the Little Sioux.) which we crossed just after leaving the Grove. We travelled all the afternoon, over a prairie, and could see nothing but the blue sky, level ground, and sometimes very bad sloughs, in one of these we got stuck, we had to unload the coach, and "lick" the horses like blazes before we could get out, after an hour's pulling they succeeded, then we loaded the coach and got in, and the old rattle trap once more was in motion.

At nine o'clock we drove into Sac City, this place claims about five houses. The eating houses at this place and Ida Grove, are the best kept on the road, we got a very good supper, and then started. Just after leaving Sac City, we forded the Raccoon Fork of the Des Moines river after crossing this stream I bid farewell to the world for the night.

November 14.—We awoke this morning at Fitz Patrick's Farm-House, or as it is sometimes called "The Grove." We got a breakfast here of potatoes, beef steak, preserves and coffee, and a dollar, as usual, was the charge.

[79] We got a mean driver here. Soon after starting one of the horses gave out, and the coach "went to the tune of Old Hundred," but we succeeded in reaching Jefferson City (a small town in Green Co., Iowa) at half past one, this is fifteen miles

from Fitz Patricks. We got a very good dinner at the hotel. From here we had a very good driver, who took us to within six miles of rail-road by ten o'clock. During the evening we passed a prairie on fire, it was a very pretty sight. We got supper at the Six Mile House, and it being a bad road from here on, we concluded to stay all night.

November 15.—This morning we started very early, the scenery now changes from the open prairie to steep hills covered with dense forests, after descending one of these hills, we came in sight of the Telegraph, and didn't it look handsome? After going a short distance further, we forded the Des Moines River, this is a very pretty stream after crossing this river we began to ascend another steep hill, then we drove through a forest about two miles in length, then broke upon our visage the town of Boonesboro, this is a very pretty town, but the handsomest things in the place were the cars and locomotive. [80] A person who has spent a year in the Mountains, and then returns east, will know how it seems at the first sight of the "Iron Horse."

We got dinner at the Boone City Hotel, and at half past one, we started on the Chicago & North Western Rail Road for home. We passed some very pretty towns, named:— Nevada, Belle Air, Marshalltown, Toledo, Blairstown, and at dark, we arrived at Cedar Rapids, on the Cedar River, we got good "square meal" at this place, and took a palace sleeping-car, this was the finest one I ever was in, I was asleep soon after starting. This rail-road crosses the Mississippi at Clinton.

November 16.—This morning at 5 o'clock we arrived at the city of Chicago, we rode across the city in a rickety old omnibus, and took morning train on the Michigan Central R R. We passed through a great many pretty places, got a good meal at Marshall, and arrived at Detroit at 5 P. M. We went to Biddle House, we were in Detroit two days, when I went on a visiting tour, and the rest of my folks went to New York. Now my readers, (in the language of Col. Thoroughman, when finishing a speech to a jury) I am done.

[81] Having finished this pamphlet, I must now go to work and make a few apologies. My readers will notice, that in

a great many places where there ought to be full stops, nothing appears but comma's, my reason for this is, I had but one small font of type, and scarcely any capitals. One large "W" was all of that letter I had.

Secondly, I must make an apology for the register of the pages, having nothing but a little hand press, and being unable to print more than one page at a time, the register would very seldom print right.

This is my first effort at writing. And having read the printed edition, I find a great many grammatical mistakes, which I must ask you to overlook.

And I also behold more than one typographical error, but they happen in some of the best regulated offices, and besides I don't profess to be a first class typo. Through the kindness of Major Bruce, in lending me a font of type, I am enabled to give a list of the distances on the Missouri River.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This ends the narrative. We omit a table of distances on the Missouri from Ft. Benton to St. Louis which comprised twelve pages of the original copy.

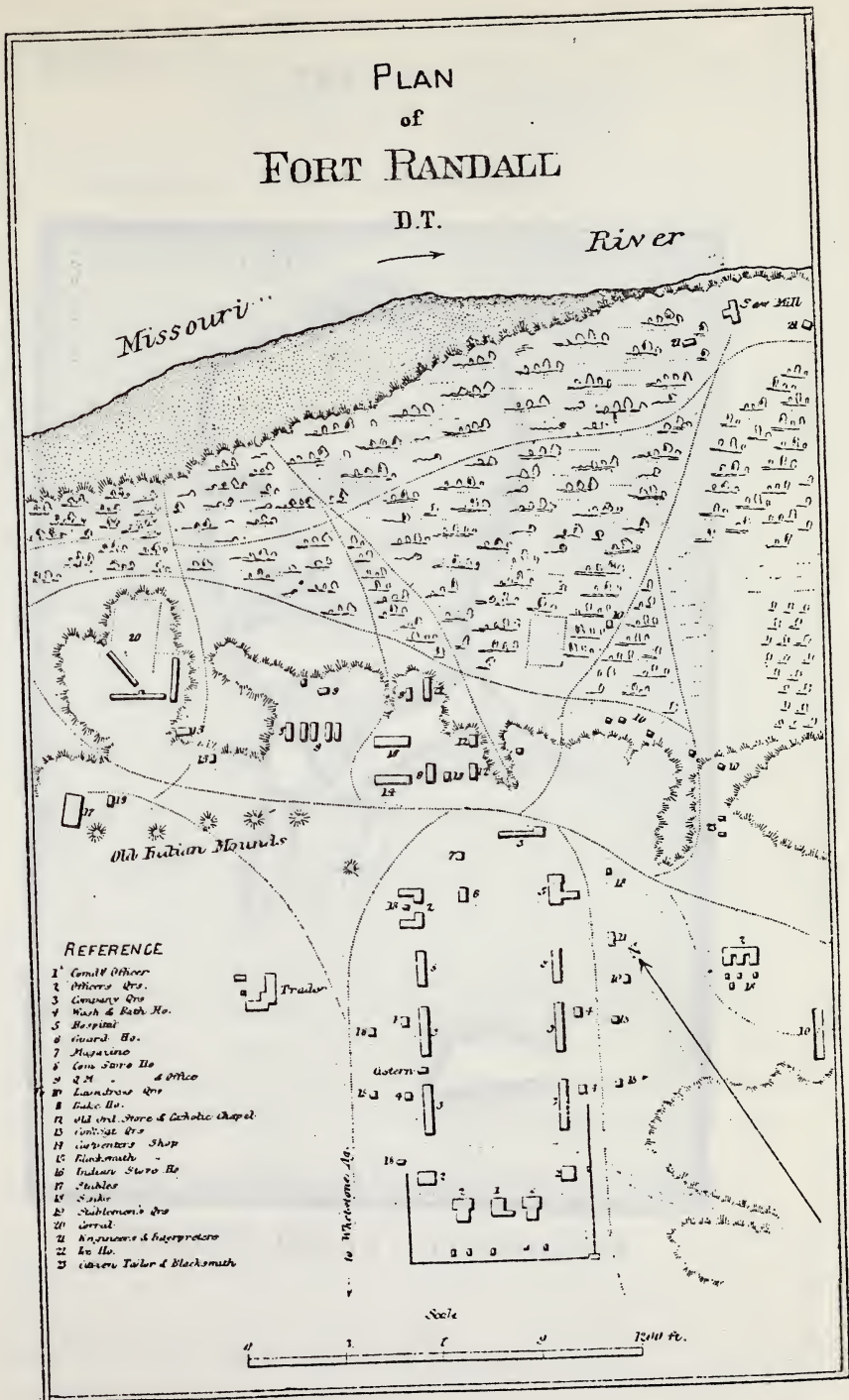
The commissioners representing the United States at Ft. Sully during Hosmer's visit were Gen. S. R. Curtis, Gov. Newton Edmunds, of Dakota Territory, Orrin Guernsey, Rev. Henry W. Reed, Gen. H. H. Sibley, and Edward B. Taylor. E. F. Ruth was secretary of the commission and R. R. Hitt was its reporter. A. W. Hubbard, member of Congress from Iowa, Judge Hez L. Hosmer, Col. Chas. C. G. Thornton, Maj. Thos. D. Maurice, Capt. W. Mott, Col. S. S. Curtis, O. D. Barrett, special Indian agent, Maj. A. P. Shreve, Dr. W. S. Woods, C. S. Morrison, O. E. Guernsey signed several of the treaties as witnesses. John Blair Smith Todd was the sutler at Ft. Randall and Dr. W. A. Burleigh was delegate to Congress from Dakota.

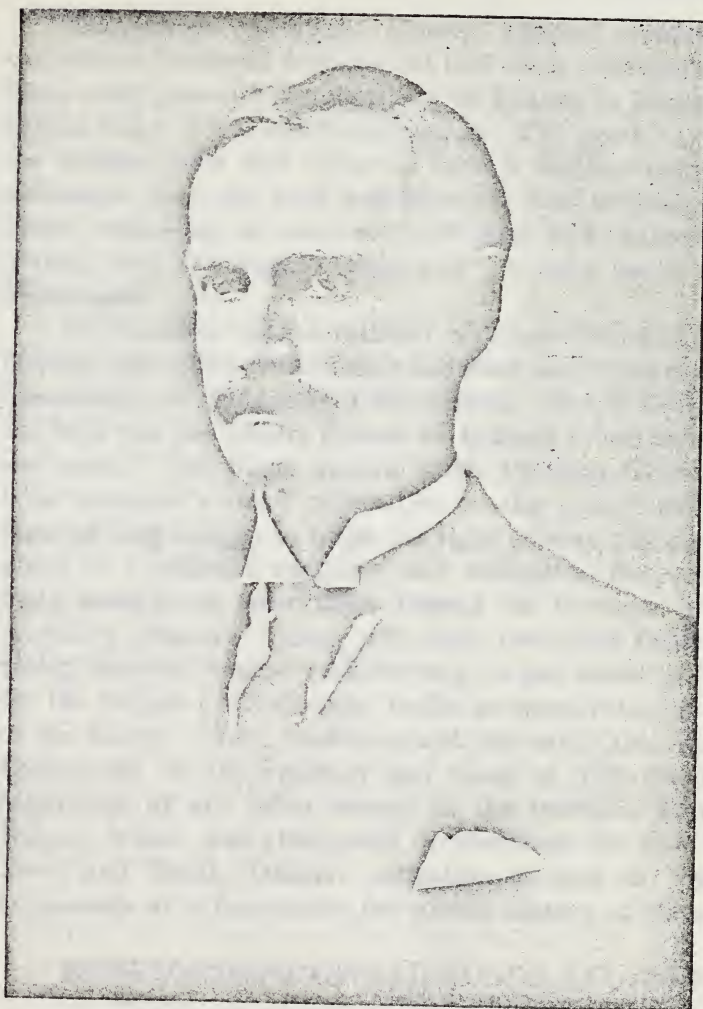
Allen Hosmer gave up journalism for law. The family moved to California soon after 1870. Allen Hosmer was for many years an assistant district attorney in San Francisco and was a judge of the Superior Court of that city from 1905 until his death in 1907.

PLAN of FORT RANDALL

D.T.

River





CHARLES BRYAN BILLINGHURST

SPINK COUNTY REMINISCENCES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ASHTON

BY CHARLES B. BILLINGHURST

UNUSUAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF SETTLEMENT

There were in Spink County physical conditions and variations of railroad development that made the county different from other parts of the Territory of Dakota in changing from Indian life to white men's civilization. The usual way was that the Indians were first removed from a district preparing for settlement, then the land was surveyed into townships 36 miles square embracing 36 sections of 640 acres each which were subdivided into 144 quarter-sections of 160 acres each, known as homesteads.

At the same time a railroad was constructed through the district, then white settlers came and filed on the quarter-sections, homesteads, on either side of the railroad. But in Spink County the land was not wholly cleared of Indians in advance of white settlement. The Sioux Indian chief, Drifting Goose, and his tribe occupied a small reservation in the county and opposed removal long enough to upset the right of way and construction plans of a railroad company and compelled the company to build around the reservation instead of through it, as was originally planned. Along with this, two rival railroads were racing into the county, each striving to get ahead of the other for the freight and passenger traffic to come from the rich soil of the county. These conditions took the early history of Spink County out of the ordinary and made it different from the beginnings of any other county in the immense Territory of Dakota, which was afterwards divided into the two states of North and South Dakota. Attention is due to these early happenings as a foundation for correct history of the county.

DEVELOPMENT OF RAILROADS AND TOWNS

A battle was in progress between the builders of the Chicago and North Western and the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railways for control of the territory in central Dakota in which Drifting Goose and his small band of followers played a losing part as is usual with Indians in their blind struggle against the advance civilization. The North Western railway managers had

intended to construct their road almost directly north from Huron and if their original plan had been consummated the road would have run about midway between the eastern and western boundaries of the county. At this time, President Hayes officially set aside three townships as a reservation for Drifting Goose and his band. The proposed reservation consisted of Townships 119 and 120, Range 63 in Spink County and Town 121 Range 63 in Brown County and was in the center of the district that the North Western people had intended to occupy. This caused them to divert their line in Spink County some eight or ten miles west of their original right of way in order to keep clear of the proposed reservation.

On July 23, 1880, President Hayes reversed his prior stand and ordered the three townships restored to the public domain. Drifting Goose was removed to Crow Creek and his old reserve was opened to homesteaders. The river valley in the reservation was well timbered. After removal of the Indians, settlers for miles around got their fuel supply from it. Then the Milwaukee railway managers took advantage of the situation by building their road on an air line south from Aberdeen in Brown County and running between the North Western road and the James River, thus taking control of the district which the North Western managers had intended to occupy.

If the North Western builders had succeeded in getting their road into Aberdeen on their first right of way ahead of the Milwaukee road building southward from that city they would have dominated the James River Valley. The junction of their northward line with their east and west line across Spink County would have been near the center of the county and the result would have been the building of a city larger than any now in the county and rivaling the cities of Aberdeen and Huron on the north and south. That city would quite likely have become the county seat, thus forestalling and eliminating the county seat contest that did occur. The conditions existing at that time indicate that the North Western Road officials planned the building of a junction city in the center of the county. The accompanying map shows the strategic position of Drifting Goose's reservation and the way in which it was the cause of changing railroad lines in the county. The delayed

opening to settlement of the three townships temporarily assigned to Drifting Goose made a shifting in railroad plans by which the county acquired more railroad mileage and more good towns than the average of counties of similar area.

SUMMARY OF RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION IN SPINK COUNTY

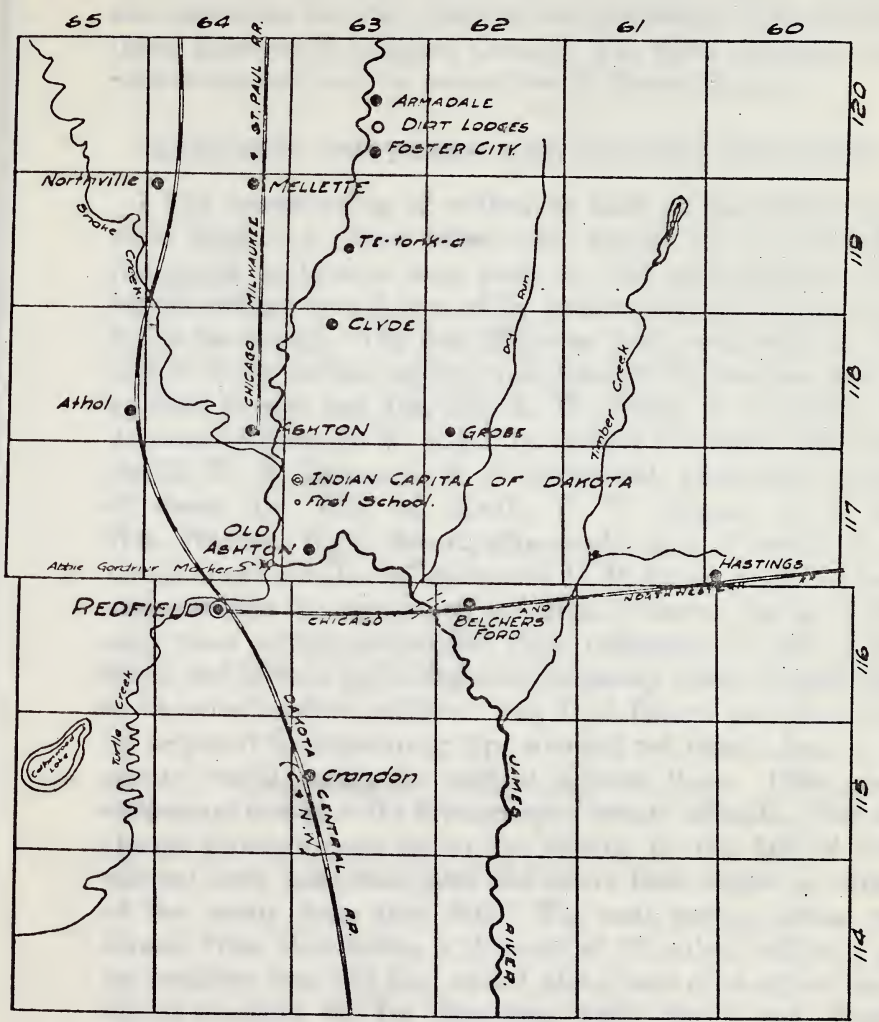
A branch of the Chicago and North Western system was the first railroad built in the county. The first train, coming from the south, arrived in Redfield in June, 1881. The line was finished through to Aberdeen that season. The North Western's east and west branch from Watertown, reached Redfield in 1884 and was extended west from that city in 1886. The North Western line in the eastern part of the county north from Doland to Conde was built in 1886.

In 1880 the terminal of the Hastings and Dakota branch of the Milwaukee road was at Milbank. The road bed was graded from Milbank that year to the site of Aberdeen but the rails were not laid until the spring of 1881. The first train arrived at Aberdeen early in the summer of 1881. The James River Valley line of the Milwaukee road was then built southward from Aberdeen to Ashton running between the river and the North Western road. The first train arrived at Ashton, Sept. 19, 1881. Ashton was the terminal of the line for six years. In 1888 the line was extended south and on to Mitchell.

In 1906 a branch of the Minneapolis and St. Louis railway system was built east and west through the county connecting Conde and Northville. Spink County now embraces approximately 165 miles of railroads and 12 railroad towns.

THE MAP

The accompanying map may be called a bird's eye view of early times in Spink County showing Indian lore, early white settlement centers and railroad beginnings. The map shows and preserves the names and locations of white settlement centers that were important in their day, but in the progress of the county became extinct.



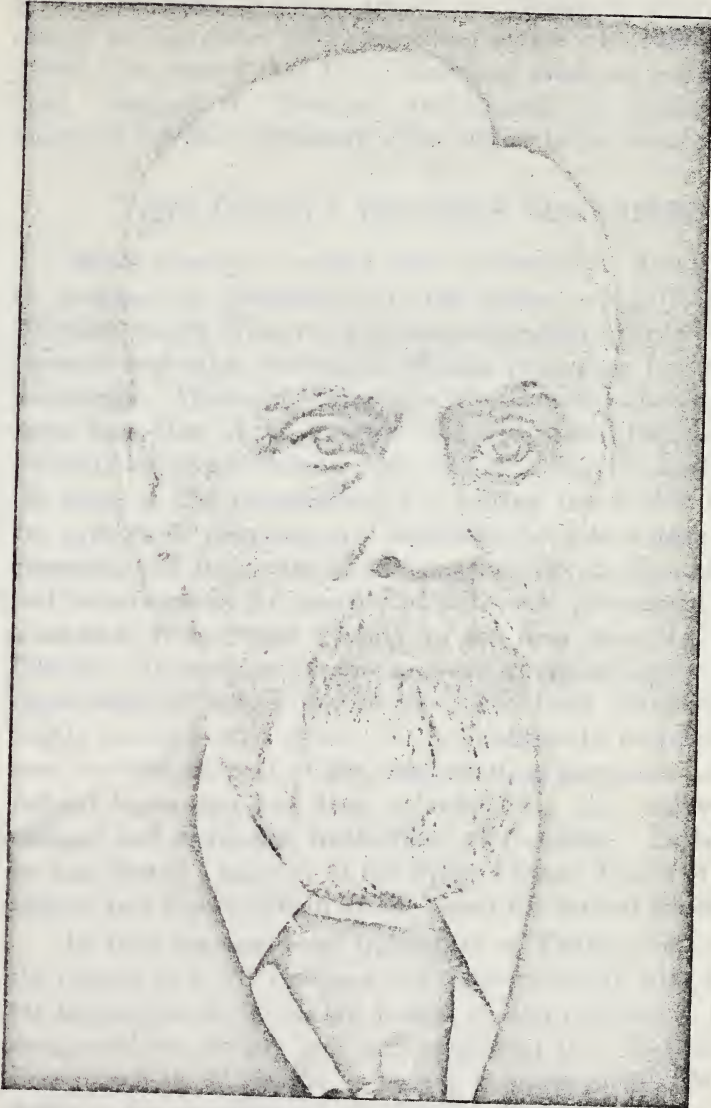
SPINK COUNTY AT AN EARLY DATE

The polling places of the first county election in the fall of 1880, Foster City, Old Ashton, and Belcher's Ford, also Armadale and Clyde, are not named on modern maps. The map also shows the boundary lines of two townships of the Drifting Goose Reservation in Spink County. The third township of the reservation was over the county line in Brown County.

EARLIEST SETTLERS AND COUNTY BUILDERS

The homesteading of settlers on lands in the county began more than two years before the arrival of the railroads. Attempted settlements were made in 1878 and perhaps earlier but the settlers were driven off by Indians who were then powerful in the county. The first filings on land were made in 1879. A few of the earliest settlers were Samuel W. Bowman and his brothers George and Ira, Col. E. W. Foster, F. I. Fisher, the Atwater brothers, H. W. and J. H., Arthur Lawrence, afterwards sheriff, W. B. Lawrence, S. F. Hammond, afterwards register of deeds, Dr. Wm. M. Kaull, F. W. Rogers, J. R. and Wm. Warden, W. C. Smart, afterwards clerk of courts, F. H. Craig, afterwards in the legislature, D. M. Craig, H. P. Packard, afterwards in the legislature, and Mel. J. Starr. To my knowledge these settlers established their residences on their homesteads and became full citizens of the county which entitled them to be called earliest settlers. Any land filings preceding them by people of the wandering type who did not remain long in the county would hardly be counted against them. Other early settlers are named in the first group of county officials. Sam and George Bowman came out to the county in the fall of 1878, selected their homestead sites and drove their stakes as citizens of the county from that date. The next spring lumber was teamed from Watertown, a distance of 75 miles, buildings put up, breaking done and land seeded, also a herd of shorthorn cattle driven overland by Ira Bowman, Arlie Saven and Charles Beardemphl to the new farm home on the banks of the James River. Hundreds of land entries followed soon after but space to list them is lacking.

Dr. Doane Robinson in his history of South Dakota states that Samuel W. Bowman and Harlan P. Packard were the first



SAMUEL W. BOWMAN

modern settlers in the county. Hon. L. M. Simons, author of a history of the county, in Peterson's historical atlas, states that S. W. and Geo. Bowman and E. S. Weikland arrived in the county in September 1878, preceding others who came that fall. There is no record that E. S. Weikland made an early filing on land. Samuel W. Bowman well earned the credit of being known as the first permanent white settler in the county.

THE COUNTY BECOMES ORGANIZED

Spink County is named after Solomon L. Spink, delegate to congress in 1869-1871. In the winter of 1878-79, S. W. Bowman was in Watertown in communication with Gov. Wm. A. Howard and other territorial officials preparing for organizing the county. While in Watertown Mr. Bowman shared an office room with Hon. A. C. Mellette who afterwards became the first governor of South Dakota. Mr. Bowman was the leader behind the scene in the preparations for getting the county organized for systematic government. Although he was a man of quiet demeanor and few words he had much ability in his undertakings and his services in the county and state were widespread. He was a member from Spink County in the first state legislature in 1889-90. At one time he was assistant commissioner in the state department of School and Public Lands and his services were highly valued in that office. In that position he traveled by team over the western part of the state selecting thousands of acres of federal lands that had been awarded for the endowment of colleges and charitable institutions of the state. In later years he was elected a member of the Spink County Board of Commissioners and was chairman of the board for several years.

In 1879 the territorial legislature at Yankton in response to the request of S. W. Bowman and others working with him fixed the boundaries of the county, named it after delegate S. L. Spink, designated the county seat and appointed Geo. Bowman, C. B. Foster and W. C. Smart as county commissioners. Mr. Smart declined the appointment preferring appointment as clerk of courts instead of commissioner and James B. Churchill was appointed commissioner in his place. Mr. Foster had opened a store on his homestead in the northern part of the county. His

place had, for a brief time, the ambitious name of Foster City. It was one of the polling places in the first county election.

The county is 36 miles wide east and west and 42 miles long north and south. The James River extends through the length of the county dividing it into about equal parts east and west. The commissioners located the county seat on the south half of Section 30, Twp. 117, Range 63, the Bowman's land, and named the place Ashton, afterwards known as Old Ashton to distinguish it from the second town of Ashton on the railroad six miles north.

The commissioners also appointed officers of the county: J. S. Bingley, register of deeds, Louis Kneisel, sheriff, Dan'l McNab, assessor and judge of probate, Roswell Bottum, treasurer, W. H. Hedges, surveyor and superintendent of schools, Frank Beardsley, coroner. Justices: C. B. Foster, L. J. Bancroft, Mel Starr and F. Beardsley. Constables: Calvin Jones, John Ray, Chas. Barber and Chas. Baker.

On the county being organized post offices were established at Belcher's Ford, Old Ashton and Clyde all on the James River, and mail delivery started by rural carriers from the two nearest railroad points, Watertown and Huron. The usual delivery outfit for a carrier consisted of a horse, harness and a single seat light vehicle called a buck board.

WINTER OF THE DEEP SNOW

In the fall of 1880 Spink County was a stretch of fertile prairie with only a beginning of improvements. There were in the county no railroads and no towns. There were some railroad grades and town sites that were not completed until the next year. The more than a hundred miles of live streams in the county had only one bridge and two ferries serving traffic. There were no developed highways. The roads were only trails that rambled over the prairies, many of them crossing streams at points that could be forded.

Nearly all of the settlers in the county at that time had located along the James River. A few had settled at the sites of Redfield and Northville anticipating arrival of the railroad the next summer. Some of the settlers had their first residences

in caves dug in the banks of the river, others on the uplands in board shacks covered with tar paper and many had sod houses. Framed houses with lath and plaster inside finish were scarce in those days. The first general election was held in the fall of 1880 at which 245 votes were cast at three polling places, all on the Jim River. At Belcher's Ford, near the present town of Frankfort, 116 votes were cast, at Old Ashton 96 votes and at Foster City 33 votes, totalling 245 voters at the polls. Counting five persons to each voter then living in the county would bring the population to 1225, and assuming that some of the voters did not go to the polls the population might be estimated as about 2000 people who endured the hardships of that worst of all winters.

The famous blizzard, which covered a great part of the northwest, began Oct. 15th and raged for three days. That blanket of snow remained on the ground through the winter and was followed by other storms until eleven feet of snow had fallen. In February there was a thaw and then a freeze up which put a crust of hard snow on the surface. This made travelling perilous for man and beast.

By midwinter food supplies, especially flour, ran low and with some of the settlers were exhausted entirely. Most of the settlers who had supplies on hand shared generously with neighbors who were in need. On many homesteads coffee mills were used for grinding grain into meal from which bread was made for the family table. History says that it was an all day job for one person to grind meal to feed a sizable family and save the members thereof from going to bed hungry.

Watertown and Huron were the nearest towns at which food supplies were available. At one time and another four horse teams hauling sleds were sent on hazardous trips for supplies. On breaking through the snow crust the horses legs became gashed to the bleeding point. Grain sacks were then wrapped around the legs of the horses so that the trip could go on and supplies be obtained. The endless white glare of snow caused many cases of snow blindness. Mail carriers were stranded on their routes and for weeks at a time delivery of mail was blocked. But the winter wore on and spring came. Then more settlers by

thousands arrived and the development of the county was resumed with renewed vigor.

FIRST SCHOOL

The first school house in Spink County was built on a one acre plot located on the N. E. corner of N. W. $1\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 25, Twp. 117, Range 64 acquired from the land of Philip Runser, Sr. The school house was built by Mr. Spicer of Watertown. A. Stanley Hall and Roswell Bottum were directors of the school. They engaged Mr. Hall's sister, Florence Hall, to teach the first three months and the school was opened in July, 1880. Other early teachers of the school were the Misses Georgia Ellis and Ada Draper.

Among the earliest pupils were Robert and Anna Runser, Robert Kneisel, William and Charles Baker, Robert Simmons, Lucy Tubbs, Charles and William Sweet, Lida and Ruth Bowman. This information is furnished by Mr. R. A. Runser, one of the first pupils in the school, living in 1933 at Foxboro, Wis.

The first school house was occupied for school purposes nearly fifty years and then was replaced by a new school building on the same ground. The original building, still in good shape, was removed to a site on highway No. 41 about midway between Ashton and Redfield and it is now occupied by the officials of Three Rivers Township and the Farmers Union.

TWO BLIZZARDS

The famous and destructive snow storms of Oct. 15, 1880 and Jan. 12, 1888 were the worst storms in the history of the county and well earned the name of being real blizzards. I witnessed both blizzards and in the first one I drove for two hours with snow falling on me.

On Oct. 15, 1880 I was in the town of Eden in Union County. On the morning of that day I started to take an all day drive in the country on business. The morning was mild and gave no indication of a storm coming, but it began to be cloudy in the middle of the forenoon. At noon I stopped at a farm about fifteen miles out from town, had the horses fed and took dinner with the farmer. During the dinner hour moist snow began to

fall but did not seem threatening. I was in a quandary whether to go farther in the country and finish the work of the day or to return to town, but finally decided to return and it was well that I did so. The snow fall increased rapidly and became blinding. In the last two miles before reaching town I could hardly see the road or the horses, but I arrived safely about three o'clock in the afternoon. The storm went on and we guests in the over crowded hotel were confined under roof for three days.

The fury of the second blizzard, the one of Jan. 12, 1888, was greater and more destructive of human beings and live stock than the first one. The weather was colder and the wind high. I was then at my home in Ashton. It was hazardous to attempt the trip between my house and office though it was but a few blocks. In the country so blinding was the snow that people were lost and perished within a few rods of their houses.

If my memory is right these two storms were the only ones ever occurring in the northwest entitled to the name of blizzard, if the amount of destructiveness is considered. Other storms have been severe but fortunately not of the intensity of the two genuine blizzards.

GENERAL BEADLE MENANCED BY DRIFTING GOOSE

General W. H. H. Beadle, a civil engineer, was appointed Surveyor General of Dakota Territory by President U. S. Grant. In June, 1873, he was with a party of six men surveying along the James River (then called the Dakota for its entire length).

While in the vicinity of the junction of Turtle River and Snake Creek with the James River, about the center of the present Spink County, they were met by Drifting Goose at the head of 130 to 140 Indians, with squaws among them, and ordered to deliver their teams and wagons to the Indians and then get out of the country. There was some parleying and offering of food and tobacco to the Indians but they refused it. Suddenly an Indian grabbed the bridles of a team and attempted to lead the team away. General Beadle seized the Indian and hurled him staggering to the ground and when the Indian got onto his feet again he looked into the muzzle of Beadle's double barrellled shot gun which was loaded with buck shot. Standing at the side of

the General and facing the Indians were his men with guns aimed at the group of Indians who hesitated and refrained from displaying their guns.

The teams were then started away from the Indians, Beadle and his men walking backwards in the rear of the teams and facing the Indians with guns aimed ready to fire. The General cautioned his men not to fire unless he gave the word. In this way the party escaped without a conflict and resumed work of surveying in another part of the river valley.

That meeting with Indians was extremely dangerous though not a gun was fired. If either party had begun firing General Beadle and his men undoubtedly would have been massacred as they were outnumbered many times over by the Indians.

THE INDIAN CAPITAL OF DAKOTA AND THE FAMOUS COUNCIL STONE

It would seem that Dakota Territory had three capitals, one after another: First there was the Indian capital situated on the bank of the James River within the present boundaries of Spink County, according to Indian tradition, second the white men's capital at Yankton on the Missouri River at the south boundary of the territory, and third at Bismarck, on the upper stretch of the Missouri in the northern part of the territory. The following quoted letter by attorney John J. Cushing of Ashton fully describes the Indian capital. It is likely that Gen. Beadle named the Council Stone the Indian capital in his conversation with Mr. Cushing. The Council Stone was situated on land that afterwards became the homestead of Louis Kneisel, the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 23, Twp. 117, Range 64. The stone was afterwards removed, probably by vandals.

Ashton, Dak., special correspondence to the St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 5, 1883. Yesterday, in company with General W. H. H. Beadle, your correspondent, visited the famous council stone a few miles south of this city. This is the spot where the various tribes of Southeastern Dakota met annually or oftener and held their councils of war and peace, and therefore may properly be termed the Indian capital of Dakota. It is probable that the location was chosen on account of its accessibility, scenery and other natural advantages, and to the observing traveler it is

evident they could not have made a better selection. Notwithstanding this was once the Indian capital of Dakota, our late capital commission refused to visit the historic spot or even to consider its claim for the honor of the first capital of Dakota, and the spot which marked it will always remain a place of interest for the historian, tourist, and antiquarian. The famous council stone is a smooth oviolate-diameter shaped black boulder about six inches in diameter one way, and eleven inches long, and stands in the center of the council chamber. The council chamber consists of stones placed around a circle, about fifteen feet in diameter, the ground scooped out so that the Indians could sit around in a circle, with their feet inclined towards the center. This chamber is capable of seating some twelve councilors; seven of whom would be a majority. As there were many different tribes in the valley at the time when those legislatures met, it is probable that each tribe had but one representative in council. The scenery around this old council stone is unequalled in the James river valley. Standing on the left bank of the river where the river makes a curve to the southeast, upon a high bluff is this famous council stone. For miles up and down the valley the view is unobstructed, and the many windings of the James river valley, with the trees along its banks the large fields of ripening grain the several towns to the north and south, and the Wessington hills to the westward, all visible, it presents a picture beyond description. To the east a short distance are the Dirt lodges, once the homes of the Indians bearing that name. It was just opposite this council stone that Gen. Beadle and his party of surveyors so narrowly escaped being massacred by the Indians in June, 1873, and yesterday was the first time that he had visited the spot since. Until the last two years the Indians have returned once a year and removed the weeds and grass from around the council stone. Since then it has been neglected, and a few years more the Indian capitol of Dakota will be known only in history.—John J. Cushing.

DIRT LODGES

It appears that in timbered regions, such as along the James River, the Indians had a way of building winter quarters of poles sided and roofed with sod. Such structures were known as

dirt lodges. From the best information obtainable it seems that there were two Indian camps or villages in the county of the dirt lodge type. At a very early date a village named Dirt Lodges was established on an elevation of the prairie a short distance east of the James River near the present northern boundary line of Spink County. The village was built and occupied for a long time by outlaw Indians. The location was directly east of Duxbury Station, or Bright P. O., on the Milwaukee Railroad. The latest Indian occupants of this neighborhood were the Sioux Chief Drifting Goose and his tribe.

Another village of dirt lodges was located in the center of the county about three miles northeast of the junction of Turtle River with the James River.

ABIGAIL GARDNER RESCUE TABLET

At Spirit Lake, Iowa, in the spring of 1857 renegade Indians, after massacring white settlers at that place, kidnapped Abigail Gardner, a girl in her teens and brought her out to the James River in Dakota. They camped on the river within the boundaries of the present Spink County. At this point friendly Indians rescued Miss Gardner and she returned to her home at Spirit Lake.

The D.A.R. have erected two monuments commemorating the rescue of Miss Gardner. A concrete marker was built at the point on the river where she was rescued. A second monument of granite and concrete with bronze plate was placed a short distance west of the river on highway No. 41 about three miles north of Redfield. The inscription on the tablet reads:

ABOUT ONE MILE EAST OF THIS SPOT
ABBIE GARDNER
WAS DELIVERED TO HER RESCUERS
ON MAY 30, 1857, AFTER EIGHTY-THREE
DAYS OF CAPTIVITY AMONG THE SIOUX
INDIANS FOLLOWING THE SPIRIT LAKE
MASSACRE IN IOWA
THIS TABLET PLACED BY
CHARLOTTE WARRINGTON TURNER CHAPTER
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

ARMADALE FUR POST

In 1832 an Indian fur trading station was established by William Dickson on the James River in the northern part of what is now Spink County. This station was known as Armadale and was an important fur trading post down to the time the district was surveyed and the Indians removed. Indians frequently had villages or camps adjacent to fur trading stations. The usual accompaniment of an Indian camp sprang up at Armadale.

The prevailing opinion seems to be that fur traders were the earliest introducers of civilization to Indians, but that view is not supported by the records of history. At too many fur trading posts the abnormal thirst of Indians for liquor was catered to and the Indians while drunk gave up their furs far below value. The primitive integrity of Indians was demoralized by fur traders. Hence the traders could not reasonably be called civilizers. The earliest actual introducers of true civilization to Indians were the intrepid, faithful missionaries who were always on the frontiers. Indians got the benefits of civilization from missionaries, not from liquor-dealing fur traders.

AN INDIAN SCARE

George Bowman, early settler and one of the first board of county commissioners, told a story of an Indian scare in which he was a witness. There was with a group of prospectors from Boston approaching the James River a vainglorious individual by the name of James Fox who imagined he had scouting ability. He was armed and togged out as a scout. Indians at that time in the region were peaceful and on friendly terms with the whites but some of the Boston party had fears. Anticipating that they were in the vicinity of Indians, Fox went ahead to do some scouting. He disappeared behind an elevation on the prairie but in a short time came running back all out of breath and only able to gasp "Indians". Another party was sent out to reconnoiter and over the brow of the hill they discovered a tent and standing in front of it a white man who proved to be George Bowman.

COUNTY SEAT MOVEMENTS

As shown by the records, the first board of county commissioners appointed by Governor Wm. A. Howard, located the

county seat at Old Ashton in 1879. At subsequent elections in 1880, '82 and '84 the county seat issue was voted upon but no one of the contesting towns received a majority and Old Ashton held the seat. Old Ashton, Frankfort, Redfield and Ashton were the contesting candidates for county seat honors.

If newspaper reports at the time of the county seat campaigns are to be taken as true there was rivalry among the boomers of the contesting towns in swelling the votes with fictitious county seat ballots in aid of the cause, over which there was much jocular comment on the streets and in the columns of the papers in those days. They were honest citizens, too, in their conduct outside of that contest. The seizure of the county records in December, 1884, by boosters of Redfield brought the contest to a climax. Several hundred armed citizens assembled from over the county and marched to Redfield to rescue the records but were interrupted by a court injunction. A company of militia was called in behalf of Redfield to quell the strife, but by that time leaders of the opposing factions were conferring for an agreement and a conflict was avoided.

The Court on hearing arguments in the case dissolved the injunction and ordered the records returned to Old Ashton, which was done and the crisis was over. Old Ashton continued to hold the county seat until in 1885 it was located, by act of the legislature, at Ashton, the terminal of the Milwaukee railroad. In the fall of 1886 another election was held and Redfield became the permanent location of the county seat by majority vote of the citizens of the county, so the campaigns came to a peaceful close.

The foregoing is a condensed account of the county seat contest that has been published in more detail by the press of the county. There would be no objection on my part to making a full report of the contest in this article, only that it would take more space than could be given in this sketch of early times in the county. It is sufficient for me to say that after the final settlement former ardent rivals in the campaigns became on friendly terms and associated together in county development from that time on.

The county seat contest really was a side issue and had little to do with the actual development of the county. During the

time that the contest was going on industrious settlers were improving farms and building schools, churches and business establishments in the country and in the towns, which altogether make up the first class county of Spink. This article is reminiscent principally of Ashton and that neighborhood. The usual way in writing histories of counties is to give a chapter to each of the towns in the county including account of the labors and accomplishments of the pioneers who started and built the towns, and I hope that in due time such a full history of Spink County will be written.

NEW ASHTON IN SEPTEMBER 1881

The town of Ashton was first named New Ashton to distinguish it from Ashton the county seat, but afterwards changed to Ashton.

Following are clippings from the New Ashton Herald, A. E. Rising, publisher, dated Sept. 21, 1881:

There being no postoffice established at this point as yet, makes our mail matters somewhat mixed. A petition has been circulated by Mr. R. K. Gilson and is forwarded to headquarters. The office will probably be established inside of thirty days.

The first regular train into New Ashton came Monday night, and brought the following gentlemen: H. C. Croffut, J. J. Kiehlm, F. A. Brainerd, A. Telford, L. N. Kiehlm and J. W. Gilboy. They reported "Hungry," and were tenderly cared for.

The first train arrived last Monday morning, and was pulled by engine 388, conductor, Chas. Dean, with engineer Pollard at the helm. At the first scream of the whistle Gilson's "Henry Ward Beecher" went up into the air and a general 'Rah resounded all 'round.

New Ashton is located in the central portion of Spink county, one mile west of the Dakota River, and is the present terminus of the Hastings & Dakota Railroad. The town site is a high rolling prairie, overlooking the country for miles around. Our visitors tell us that we have the finest location for a town on the H. & D. line.

Mr. F. W. Rogers, who has been in the locating business at

Redfield for some time, has decided to change his location to New Ashton. The citizens of this place have gratuitously hauled a large share of his lumber from Redfield. Mr. Rogers will erect a neat dwelling 22x26 feet, two stories high, and will soon remove his family here. Mr. R. is a number one business man, and we welcome him among us.

Mr. Spencer, of Clyde, is putting in a flouring mill on the Dakota River between New Ashton and Clyde. It is to be a roller mill with three sets of rollers and three runs of stone. The material for the mill is on the road, and that it will be built this season is a certainty. Mr. Spencer is a man of ripe experience in the milling business and will make the enterprise a success.

Messrs. Savon & Bowman have the stone on the ground for their new hotel, to be built on the corner of Main street and Second Avenue. The building will be 60x70 feet, and when completed will be one of the finest hotels in western Dakota. The hotel will be named the "Bowman House." Messrs. S. & B. have had a large experience as hotelists, and our citizens are fortunate in securing so good a business firm.

Our agent is with us. His name is S. A. Fleming, and a gentleman with whom one may be proud of forming an acquaintance.

Mr. J. B. Churchill, the gentlemanly commissioner of the first district, made us a pleasant call the first of the week.

The first meeting in this place was held at the New Ashton Hotel, last Sabbath morning, Rev. Rogers officiating.

The first settler in this township was Mr. F. O. Childs, who lives one mile south of New Ashton.

The largest watermelon we have seen weighed over thirty pounds and was raised near this place by Joseph Swain.

A band of Indians from the Crow Creek Agency passed through Ashton last week en-route to the Sisseton Agency to visit their red brethren at that place.

The boys who robbed Mr. Billings watermelon patch were visited by Sheriff Kniesel, Monday morning. They settled at \$2 per head. Rather dear melons.

One day last week thirteen Indians called on Mr. J. B. Churchill, of Armadale, and demanded the stray ponies that he

has in his possession, but after questioning them a while Mr. Churchill became convinced that they were not the owners of the ponies and ordered them to leave. The Indians did not seem inclined to do so, and Mr. C. applied a cowhide plaster to some of them in the shape of a No. 11 boot, and they hid themselves away to Crow Creek Agency, where cowhide plasters are not in vogue.

CITY GOVERNMENT FOR ASHTON

In the 15th session of the territorial legislature at Yankton in 1883 a bill introduced by Senator Elias McCauley of Ashton to incorporate the City of Ashton was enacted. The incorporating law provided in detail for conducting the governing of the city and named three citizens of Ashton, J. H. Allen, S. M. Howes and C. B. Billinghamurst, to call and act as judges of the first election to determine by votes of the citizens whether to adopt the city form of government and if adopted to supervise an election of city officials.

The first city officials elected June 15, 1883 were, Mayor J. H. Allen, Councilmen C. B. Billinghamurst, A. D. Cilley, T. E. Phillips, W. W. Kelsey and J. J. Cushing, Clerk C. M. Williams, Assessor S. W. Bowman, Treasurer J. D. Goddard, Police Justice Carroll Atwood. Each of the three judges of election provided in the incorporating act became mayor of the city, J. H. Allen in 1883, S. M. Howes in 1884, C. B. Billinghamurst in 1886.

ASHTON CHURCHES

The Methodist Church was established by Rev. Joshua M. Rogers and his congregation of early settlers. By hand labor as well as by oral proclaiming of the gospel, Rev. Rogers hauled all of the stone for the foundation of the church and members of the congregation took part in the work of building. The church building was begun early in 1882 and was finished that year or early in 1883. Rev. Rogers was the first pastor.

The Congregational Church was begun in 1885 and finished in 1886. At the time of this writing the records of the churches

are not at hand but the dates of building here stated and names of the first pastors undoubtedly are correct. Rev. Shaw was the first pastor.

MASONIC AND EASTERN STAR LODGES

The first meeting of Ashton Lodge No. 33, A. F. & A. M. was opened August 5, 1882, by John S. Perriton under dispensation from the Grand Master and meetings were held and candidates initiated under the dispensation until June 16, 1883 when the charter was received. Members named in the charter were J. H. Allen, C. W. Carrier, C. W. Andrews, B. R. Hawley, J. T. Wooley, Ira Bowman and E. F. Beaumont.

The charter of Ashton Chapter No. 36, O. E. S. was dated May 26, 1897.

The charter members were:

Mrs. Flora Anderson	Miss Mellie McAllister
Mrs. Lucy McIntyre	Mrs. Fannie Sheetz
Mrs. Mary Danby	Miss Mary McIntyre
Mrs. Mercy Howes	Miss Lillian Perriton
Mrs. Laura Christianson	Miss Edith Salisbury
Mrs. Sadie Eckhart	Mr. John Perriton
Mrs. Amanda McAllister	Mr. Daniel Anderson
Mrs. Eunice Pillen	Mr. Nels Christianson
Mrs. Jennie Perriton	Mr. James McIntyre
Mrs. Marcia Thissell	Mr. Elbert Sheetz
Mrs. Amanda Washburn	Mr. Samuel Bowman
Mrs. Frankie Watkins	Mr. Harry Howes
Mrs. Nellie Townley	Mr. John J. Pillen
Mrs. Alice Rhoades	Mr. H. Ervin Thissell

ODD FELLOW AND REBEKAH LODGES

The charter of Ashton Lodge No. 45, I. O. O. F. was dated March 22, 1883. Charter members: J. S. Perriton, J. T. Wooley, W. Wilhelm, C. L. Downey, Ed. Mesmer, C. B. Billinghamurst, A. J. Rise, T. J. Worthington, B. R. Hawley, T. G. Mason, G. L. Shoals, L. C. Ingram.

The charter of Ruth Rebekah Lodge No. 6, I.O.O.F. was dated March 30, 1889.

Charter Members:

Mrs. C. P. Stevens	Mr. T. B. Millington
Mrs. E. F. Wooley	Mr. N. S. Waterman
Mrs. E. H. Downey	Mr. O. E. Seaton
Mrs. M. E. Wilhelm	Mr. J. P. Wolf
Mrs. C. R. Hawley	Mr. J. Layman
Mrs. J. S. Perriton	Mr. A. Druly
Mr. C. B. Stevens	Mr. H. D. Hopkins
Mr. J. T. Wooley	Mr. Jens Jensen
Mr. C. M. Thomas	Mr. C. B. Billingham
Mr. C. L. Downey	Mr. G. W. Wilhelm
Mr. C. N. Boardman	Mr. E. P. Mesmer
Mr. J. S. Perriton	Mr. B. R. Hawley
Mr. A. D. Moulton	Mr. F. L. Selleck

ASHTON CITIZENS HONORED IN LEGISLATURE

Elias McCauley, senator in territorial legislature at Yankton, 1883.

D. W. Poindexter, senator in territorial legislature at Bismarck, 1889.

S. W. Bowman, representative in state legislature at Pierre, 1890.

O. E. Wheeler, representative in state legislature at Pierre, 1891.

T. P. Blain, representative in state legislature at Pierre, 1901.

E. N. Graves was assistant secretary of state, 1901-1903.

ASHTON CITIZENS IN COUNTY OFFICES

F. L. Selleck, probate judge, 1883. A. D. Eckhart, treasurer, 1899-1902.

E. N. Graves, commissioner, 1890 and auditor, 1897-1901. C. F. Graves, treasurer, 1907-1909, commissioner, 1920-1922. D. W. Poindexter, probate judge, 1886. S. W. Bowman, commissioner and chairman of the board, 1900-1908. Geo. W. Wilhelm, sheriff, 1918-1920. John P. Wolf, treasurer, 1924-1926 and auditor, 1920-1922. Mr. Wolf's boyhood home was at Gettysburg, Penn. When a boy in his teens he sat in the audience when President

Abraham Lincoln made his noted speech at that place. It is probable that Mr. Wolf is the only person living in South Dakota who heard Lincoln's immortal address on the battle ground at Gettysburg. A. F. Senechal was clerk of courts, 1910-16. J. H. Faucett, superintendent of schools, 1893-97.

ASHTON CITY OFFICIALS IN 1902 — THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CITY

Mayor, D. W. Poindexter, Aldermen, E. C. Townley, A. D. Coleman, Nels Nelson, A. Versteeg, Geo. Boyer. Clerk, C. L. Downey, Treasurer, W. S. Billingham, Assessor, C. H. McCrossen, Police Justice, S. W. Bowman, Marshal, Levi Pierce, Street Commissioner, F. H. Harrington.

ASHTON BOARD OF EDUCATION, 1902

President, S. P. Watkins, Members P. Vroman, Julius Weiland, N. J. Christianson, J. G. Bullen, Clerk, C. L. Downey, Treasurer, J. H. Townley.

CLYDE FLOURING MILL

One of the first business enterprises in the county was a flouring mill built on the Jim River at Clyde and run by water power. The mill was operated for a number of years at times when the river was high enough to deliver the power. Four settlers were interested in the mill, Cal. and A. Spenser, Jeff. and Theo. Lower. The dam was built in 1880, the mill in 1881 and operation began in 1882. The business was suspended in 1887 for want of water. The mill was dismantled and the lumber used to build a house on the Cal. Spenser farm. The machinery was sold to parties at Doland.

ASHTON COMMUNITY BUILDING

In the course of the county seat campaigns the citizens of Ashton had built and paid for a commodious building and granted the use of it to the county for the accommodation of county records, officials and circuit court. Ashton did not meet with complete loss in the vacating of the building by the county on removal of the county seat to Redfield. Ashton's investment in the building proved to be a good one for the building has been

and still is in service as a city hall and community building necessary for the welfare of the city and surrounding country.

The series of fires that swept away hotels, business blocks, the flouring mill and wheat elevators, together with periods of hard times in which citizens of Ashton were at no fault were what set the town back.

ARTESIAN WELL

Drilling for artesian water was made under auspices of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Company and a flow of 1000 gallons a minute was brought in July 3, 1883, at a depth of 905 feet. A system of watermains was then laid by the city which brought the water into use for household service and for irrigating gardens, shrubs and trees, by which Ashton soon became a gem among towns for productive gardens, well kept lawns and shaded streets.

GAS WELLS

At an early date in drilling for water a short distance from the Bowman House an apparently strong flow of gas was found. Pipes were laid to the Bowman House and for several months the hotel was heated and the cooking done by gas. Gas was found also in surface wells on nearby farms of John Clifford, C. L. Downey and C. W. Andrews. Expectations of a permanent supply of gas were raised, but it proved to be of the "pocket" variety and the flow finally ceased.

COUNTY FAIR AND DAILY NEWSPAPER

In the eighties fair grounds were equipped on the west bank of the Jim a short distance east of the city. The grounds were equipped with buildings and yards to hold agricultural exhibits, also with a half mile race track and a ball park. Fairs were held and at odd times sporting events such as trotting and running races and ball games. The events drew exhibits and attendance from all parts of the county. Racing on old style high wheeled bicycles of those times was one of the features.

One fall during the several days holding of the fair the enterprising publishers of the Ashton Bee, George and Fred Shoals, issued a daily edition of their paper replete with news

of the fair and events in the county and state. Ashton long held the record of being the home of the only daily paper published in the county.

WINTER SNOW AND SPRING FLOOD, 1896-97

The winter of 1896-97 was one of extremely heavy snow followed in the spring by the greatest flood since the settlement of the county. In the winter the snow was roof high in many door yards with immense drifts of snow between buildings. A number of householders dug tunnels through the drifts connecting their houses and barns and walked through the tunnels in doing their chores until the spring thaw.

In the spring all streams overflowed their banks and extended long distances out on the uplands. At Ashton the Jim came up to the city and at Redfield Turtle River over flowed some of the streets. When the flood was at its height, Alderman W. S. Billingham rowed his hunting boat from the city of Ashton over the flooded prairies to a street in Redfield and return, the round trip being eighteen miles. Probably this was the only trip ever made by boat between the two towns.

A FARMING EVOLUTION

In the beginning of farming in Spink County wheat was the main crop, almost exclusive of other crops. The farmers raised some oats, enough to feed their horses and that was about all. Corn was unknown and considered doubtful. The soil is well adapted for wheat raising and the early farmers made money at it. They built modern residences, barns and granaries and brought their farms up to a high state of improvement with wheat money. Wheat still is a standard crop in the county and undoubtedly always will be, but it now has the company of other crops. Farmers made a change in their operations. On their own initiative and knowledge of the soil and climate they reduced their wheat acreage and took on the growing of corn, alfalfa and other small grains.

The farmers of the county said: "Wheat is the standard food of man and corn, oats and barley are standard foods for live stock. The live stock on our farms fed from home raised grains grows into food for the country and we will run our farms on this combination."

Some of the farmers make a specialty of dairying, some of beef cattle and hogs, others of sheep, etc., but they all raise wheat, corn and small grains in rotation. The farm flocks of poultry bring in cash every month of the year. In the fall the outside root cellar is stored with potatoes and other root crops and the basement of the house holds a supply of salted and smoked pork, home grown and home canned vegetables and fruits.

Farming in Spink County is well diversified and has been for many years. No farming region anywhere is better able to maintain itself and help to feed the country through recurring business depressions and climatic variations affecting crops.

Much has been said recently by industrial experts and by professors in eastern institutions of learning about the need of farmers to reduce wheat acreages and take up other branches of farming in order to make a sure living. The advice of experts and professors may be timely for the improvement of farming methods in some parts of the country but it is not needed in Spink County.

Charles Bryan Billingshurst, son of Charles and Hannah Barber Billingshurst, was born at Juneau, Wisconsin, on April 17, 1854. His father was a member of the first Wisconsin state legislature and represented the state in Congress for two terms, 1855-1859. Mr. Billingshurst was educated in the public schools and Spencerian Business College. On February 28, 1882, he located at Ashton and engaged in the banking and real estate business there for seventeen years. He was one of the town's incorporators and served as mayor. In 1899 Mr. Billingshurst moved to Pierre where he purchased a printing plant; in 1903 he founded the **DAILY DAKOTAN** which he published for several years. Few people have equalled his loyalty to South Dakota. Mr. Billingshurst is a charter member of the State Historical Society; he has been a member of its executive committee since 1911 and was president from 1921 to 1923. Mr. Billingshurst married Miss May E. Bowman, a daughter of Samuel W. Bowman, Spink County pioneer. Two daughters were born of this union—Alida and Florence (Mrs. Russell Bard).

SURVEY OF MILITARY RESERVE AT FORT PIERRE*

Fort Pierre, August 7, 1855.

Major: Having completed the duties assigned me at this post, by your instructions of June 4, I shall set out tomorrow to return to Fort Leavenworth via Fort Kearny. My party consists of six experienced men of the country, mostly half-breed Sioux, and Mr. Carrey and myself. We are well supplied with every thing needful, and expect to be at Fort Kearney in from fifteen to twenty days. We shall travel as men of the country, and exercise the greatest vigilance.

The Brules, we are told by an Indian who arrived to-day, are in the Sand Hills, and are no worse to emigrants and traders than they were before the Grattan massacre. They are excited, however, against the soldiers, and would probably not lose an opportunity to destroy a small party, if it should be afforded them. These are the only Sioux we have any apprehension of.

There is a band of Ihanktowans on the left bank of the Missouri, some forty or fifty miles above l'Eau qui Court, said to be desirous of making peace. The Ihanktowannas are scattered along the left bank above Fort Pierre. The Unkpapas, Minikanyes, Sans Arc, and Blackfeet Sioux are dispersed along the north fork of the Shyenne and Powder rivers, and on the head of the Upper Little Missouri.

I send herewith a sketch of a survey from Chantier river to Antelope river, a distance of thirty miles, made for the purpose of determining a suitable military reserve; and one also of a reconnaissance from the Chantier river to the Shyenne, a distance by the road we took, (a lodge trail,) of forty miles.

The limit of the reserve, as established by order of Colonel Montgomery, can be seen on the sketch. It embraced 310½ square miles, about fourteen only of which are of any value. This great extent is required on account of the limited resources which the country seems to possess; these, however, are not yet fully known, and future experience may enable the War Department to reduce the reserve to much smaller dimensions. This year, the country is presented to us in its most unfavorable aspect, because of the deficiency of the spring rains; and many

* Warren's Report, Senate Executive Documents, No. 76, 1st Sess., 34th Congress, pp. 35-38.

places that generally furnish an abundance of hay, now have none.

Of the probability of success in cultivating the low prairies like the one on which the fort is situated, I am not prepared to speak; they seem to be composed of the washings from the black clayey bluffs, and not a deposit from the river. At the site of the fort the grass has been killed by the Indian lodges, and all the cottonwood destroyed in giving the bark to their horses in winter; there is also a great deal of wild sage growing on this plain. It, in fact, seems to be the most barren of the low prairies I have visited. The landing here is very changing; this season it is better than usual, but any high water may put a dry sand bar in front of the fort half a mile wide; at present the steamboats discharge their freight nearly a mile from the depot. However, within the limits of the reserve, there is no place for a fort on the right bank of the river superior to the one now occupied. As far as I have examined the river, the best places are on the left bank.

The islands that do not generally overflow (there are none wholly exempt from floods) are good for cultivation. The one included in the reserve is about two miles long by a half a mile wide, and contains a considerable prairie yielding good grass for hay; it has also a good supply of timber, (cottonwood;) it is eight miles below the fort. The other valuable parts of the reserve are, the point on the left bank near the island just mentioned; a portion of the valley of the Little Missouri; and the point on the left bank, about ten miles above the fort. These combined are thought by those most competent to judge to be ample for furnishing the necessary quantity of wood, grass, and arable land. The ravines in the bluffs are excellent places for the cattle in winter as they furnish shelter and food, and the earliest grass in spring. I have not completed my examination of the Little Missouri, and it is for that reason, I have left it out on the sketch.

In making the reconnaissance to the mouth of the Shyenne, I was obliged to go by land, or wait indefinitely for the boat;

I chose the former alternative, and visited all that was necessary to satisfy myself. I had the same party that goes with me to Fort Kearny, and they know the country well. About four miles above Chantier river is Galpin's camp, with the party that vacated Fort Pierre on the arrival of the troops. This is a good site, has a considerable quantity of grass and wood, but not much timber fit for building; the landing is not good, better, however, than that of Fort Pierre, and it is in general a more eligible locality.

The next place worth speaking of is De Bouis' point. This is a strip of bottom land about five miles long, and from a quarter to three quarter of a mile wide; it has an abundance of the finest grass and timber, and a permanently good landing. This place and Crook's point, nearly opposite, would furnish all the supplies needed; there seems, however, no place to locate a fort which would not be too far from the river without subjecting it to being slightly flooded during extraordinary freshets; the bottom is also so flat as to probably remain wet long after a rain. The next desirable location is what is called "The point below the Shyenne;" this is a prairie from fifty to a hundred feet above the river, about five or six miles long, north and south, and a mile and a quarter wide; at the upper side there is a fine permanent landing, and there is said to be one at the lower side. There is a fine belt of wood at the lower end, and just at the upper end is a large island probably equal in every respect to the one included in the reserve. Altogether this point is a desirable one, and apparently offers, right at hand, nearly all the resources of this country. It is, by water, forty-five or fifty miles above Fort Pierre. Formerly an Aricaree village existed here of more than three hundred lodges. I have been informed that the American Fur Company intend building upon it, but this is, as yet, doubtful. The general opinion is that the trade with the Sioux in this vicinity is ruined forever, and that it will not be profitable to incur the expense of establishing a trading post. The immediate vicinity of the mouth of the Shyenne is not good for establishing a military post; the north side is the best, and is good for trading. Dupuis is camped there with the party formerly at Fort George. I believe they intend to build houses,

and occupying it permanently. Above the Shyenne, there are said to be many good points for wood.

The Shyenne is at present about one hundred and twenty feet wide, and eighteen inches deep at the mouth. There is said to be good cottonwood in limited quantities as far up as Cherry river, (60 miles;) above that it has mainly been destroyed by the Indians, to get the bark. There is no pine on it until it enters the Black Hills; some cedar is found along the bluffs. The river is subject to very sudden rises, and falls equally fast; it is very crooked; and when high, has a very swift current; Mackinac boats have been brought down in time of high water, but it does not promise much in the way of steam navigation. I have said nothing about the roads to and from the different places spoken of. In this respect they are all about equal. With some labor on the first mile and a half of the bluffs, the road in dry weather would become good for loaded wagons, in almost any direction. Every point from Fort Pierre to the Shyenne would connect well with the Laramie or Moreau roads, or with the route to the Black Hills, between the forks of the Shyenne.

The Moreau road crosses the Shyenne fifteen miles from its mouth; there is another crossing three miles from its mouth.

The sketches must be excused for want of neatness, as they were made with the least possible facilities.

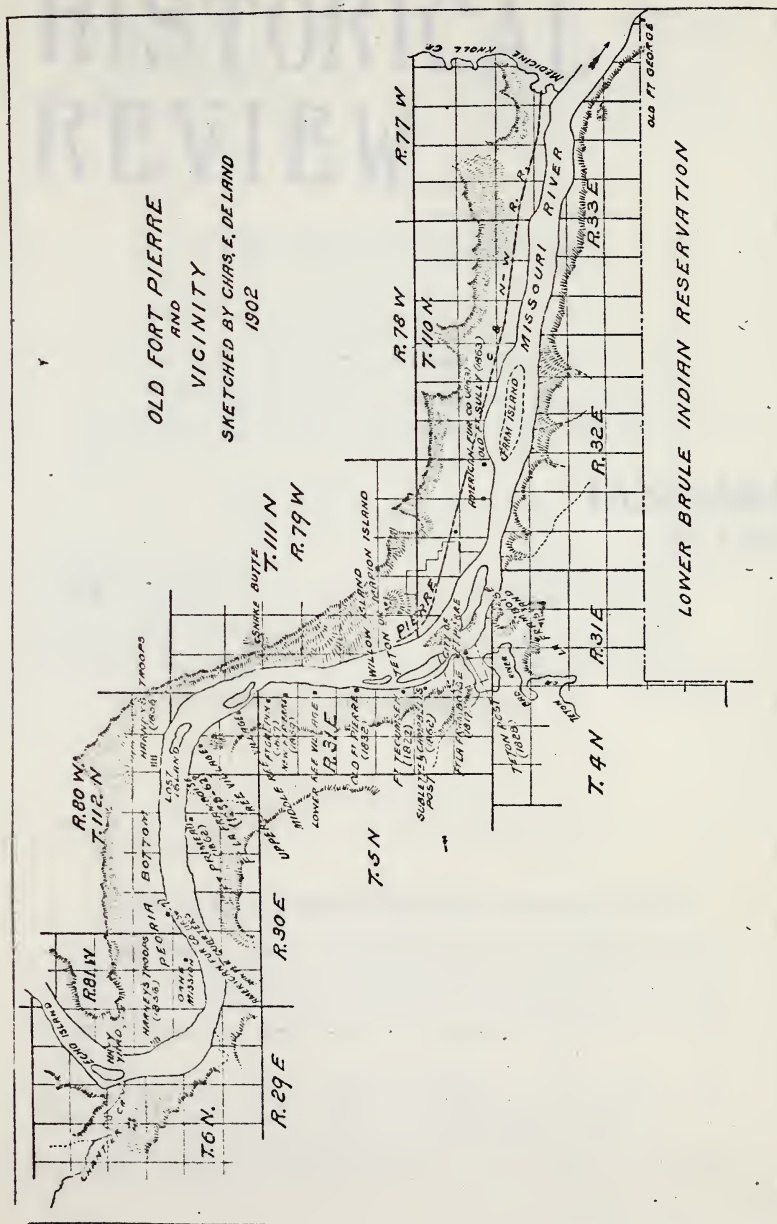
In what I have so far accomplished, I have been essentially aided by Mr. Paul Carrey.

Whatever may be the comparative defects in the site of Fort Pierre for a military post, it is evident that it is the only one in this part of the country that could be occupied this year as a depot, and the labor that will have been expended before another season comes around may render the removal of the post an affair of doubtful expediency.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

G. K. Warren,
Lieutenant Topographical Engineers.

Major O. F. Winship,
Assistant Adjutant General,
Of Sioux Expedition.



125.00

SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL REVIEW

JANUARY, 1936

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Seal of Dakota Territory

APRIL, 1936

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The Society will be pleased to receive gifts of maps, books, pamphlets, directories, church records, family and county histories, manuscripts, diaries, journals, letters, account books, muster rolls, genealogies, biographies, and memoirs, especially such as may add new knowledge concerning the religious, social and political life of the people of South Dakota.

The Society will act as the custodian of such articles of the above character as the owners may care to deposit should they be unwilling to give them outright, and will preserve them in a fire-proof building.

Any book, pamphlet, or article written by a native or resident of South Dakota or in any way relating to South Dakota, will be gratefully accepted and carefully preserved.

SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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OCTOBER, 1936

No. 1.

FOREWORD

Omaha—in 1865—was an outfitting point for the gold fields of Idaho and Montana. Its up-river Iowa rival, Sioux City, noted this fact and determined to do something to share in the business. It lacked a Platte River route but to the north and west was the Niobrara River. Sioux City had a Congressman, A. W. Hubbard, and through his influence an appropriation was secured from Congress to pay the costs of laying out a wagon road from Niobrara, Nebraska, to Virginia City, Montana.

The story of the road-building project has received little historical attention and feature writers have failed to exploit this interesting story. In 1924, Holman and Marks, of Sioux City, published a booklet bearing the title "PIONEERING IN THE NORTHWEST"; Albert M. Holman's contribution of fifty pages tells his story of the Niobrara-Virginia City Wagon Road. He had accompanied the expedition as a teamster. In preparing his account after a lapse of fifty-nine years, Mr. Holman was apparently unaware of the existence of the report reprinted herein. His account agrees with Col. Sawyers' official recital in all essential particulars.

THE MOST HOSTILE INDIAN COUNTRY ON THE CONTINENT—thus experienced plainsmen referred to the Wyoming region in 1865. Yet the intrepid Sawyers party set out to cross it with little more outward concern than the average motorist shows as he swings gaily into the dangerous traffic hazards of today. A perusal of this report will show the potential dangers faced by the Hosmer expedition on the journey described by John Allen Hosmer in "A TRIP TO THE STATES" which was reprinted in the July, 1936, number of this publication. In his entry for September 29th, young Hosmer mentioned meeting the Sawyers party. On his part, on the same date, Col. Sawyers wrote, "We met, to day,

a fleet of Mackinaw boats, descending the Yellowstone, loaded with persons coming from the Territory to the States, to the number of four or five hundred."

Although the report does not deal principally with incidents occurring on South Dakota soil, it is thought worth reprinting. The expedition was escorted by twenty-five members of Company B, Dakota Cavalry; the route crossed the southwestern part of South Dakota; and in 1865, the Wyoming region was a part of Dakota Territory.

In his entry for August 14th, Sawyers states, "A large party of Indians drove in the pickets and made a dash at the herd, but were beaten off and got none." Holman, for the same period, relates:

"There had been no Indians in sight since we left that memorable spot in which Mr. Hedges was killed, but about six o'clock that evening they again put in their horrible appearance. Our cattle, guarded by twenty men, were peacefully grazing near camp; a soldier of the Dakota cavalry, Jarvis by name, was stationed as a picket on a high peak of the hills which surrounded us. Leaving his horse grazing below, he had climbed to the peak, from where there was a gradual slope of perhaps one-half mile, to the base of the knoll on which our camp was situated. Sitting there unconcerned, contentedly smoking his pipe, and gazing out on the landscape, his meditations were suddenly aroused by some noise. On looking behind he saw Indians crawling slyly toward him from the other side of the peak. One glance was sufficient, and leaping, with a few bounds, down the hill-side, he sprang on his horse and started down the slope. From around the peak followed a dozen mounted Indians yelling at the top of their voices. All was commotion in camp. The stock was hastily started for the corral, while many of the men took their guns and hastened to meet Jarvis and cover his retreat. It was a race for life and one of the most dramatic and intensely exciting races one could witness. With the loss of only his hat, Jarvis safely reached the cover of our guns, having escaped the many arrows aimed at him on this half-mile race course. The Indians retreated and nothing more was seen of them that evening."

NIOBRARA-VIRGINIA CITY WAGON ROAD

Report of Col. James A. Sawyers, Superintendent

Washington, D. C., January 19, 1866.

Sir: Under instructions from your department dated March 14, 1865, I was appointed superintendent and disbursing officer of the wagon road to be surveyed and made under act of Congress approved March 3, 1865, from the mouth of the Niobrara river, in Nebraska Territory, to Virginia City, in Montana Territory, a branch from Omaha to intersect the main line at some point on the Niobrara river.

These instructions reached me on the last of March, and having filed my official bond and oath of office, I proceeded to organize and equip an outfit for the accomplishment of the object.

As the route I was ordered to examine and open up was to a great extent entirely unexplored, I deemed it proper to make ample preparations for going and returning, and decided to purchase supplies for six months with teams and transportation for the same, and all tools necessary for the construction of the road and the making of all bridges and fords over the streams that might have to be crossed on our route.

By arrangement, Hon. A. W. Hubbard¹ exerted himself to procure from Major General Pope,² commanding the department of the northwest, suitable escort for the expedition, to consist of at least 200 cavalry and two howitzers, and at the suggestion of Judge Hubbard, to hasten our preparations, N. C. Hudson, esq., was sent to Washington to arrange for remittance of funds to me at Chicago. On the 10th of April I received a telegram from Judge Hubbard that the escort was all right, and to meet him in Chicago to make final arrangements. On my arrival there I found no money to my credit, and was forced to proceed to Washington myself to examine the cause of the delay. After considerable delay in the Treasury Department, on the 27th of April

¹ Asahel Wheeler Hubbard, Congressman from Iowa, 1863-1869; he was a resident of Sioux City, Iowa.

² Gen. John Pope who had much military experience in northwest.

(Reprinted from House Ex. Doc. No. 58, 39th Congress,

1st Session, pp. 10-32.)

funds were placed to my credit in Chicago, and I immediately commenced the purchase of the outfit.

After purchasing such supplies as I thought proper in Chicago I proceeded to Sioux City, and found to my surprise that, instead of any cavalry escort, two companies of the 5th United States volunteer infantry, consisting of only about 118 men in all, had been sent to the mouth of the Niobrara, with rations for only three months (including May,) and with scanty transportation.

I immediately telegraphed to General Pope, stating the facts as above set forth, and, in reply, he telegraphed to Brigadier General Sully, commanding that sub-district to furnish what he could. General Sully detailed for additional escort 25 men from company B, 1st battalion Dakota cavalry, and ordered his commissary to furnish rations sufficient to last the whole escort for six months, but he could furnish no transportation, which Captain Williford,³ the escort commander, finally was obliged to obtain by contract with Messrs. C. E. Hedges & Company, private freighters.

General Sully, at my solicitation, kindly furnished me with forty Springfield rifles, with equipments and ammunition for the same, which were distributed to the employés, and were of great service in guarding stock, &c.

I may here state that on my arrival at Virginia City I turned over these guns, equipments, and remaining ammunition, to General Meagher,⁴ the secretary and acting governor of Montana Territory, as I did not think it would pay the government to have them transported back again, and they were needed there.

Unavoidable delays in the transportation of subsistence and fitting out of teams, wagons, tents, camp equipage, &c., consumed much time; but after great exertions I finally completed all my arrangements and made ready for starting from Niobrara City, at the mouth of the Niobrara river, on the 13th of June.

The expedition proper consisted of 53 men, including my engineer and clerk, physician, guides, scouts, pioneers,

³ Capt. G. W. Williford, 5th U. S. Vol. Inf.

⁴ Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher.

herders, and drivers, 45 yokes of oxen, 5 saddle-horses, 5 mules, 15 wagons, with chains, tools, tents, camp equipage, and subsistence for six months. Our escort train numbered 25 wagons, drawn by six mules each. These teams were small and thin at starting, and very young, but few of them being over three years old, and, as a whole, a very inferior lot of animals, wholly inadequate for the expedition, and should never have been sent upon it.

Accompanying the expedition were five emigrant teams and a private freight train of thirty-six wagons, coupled together so as to be drawn by eighteen teams of six yoke of oxen each, and heavily loaded, some teams being loaded with 6,400 lbs.; and here permit me say that the entire practicability of the route travelled over may be seen when I state that not one of these wagons were uncoupled during the journey for the passage of any obstacle in the road.

It will be seen at a glance that the escort detailed for the expedition was wholly inadequate to protect a train of over eighty wagons passing through the heart of the most hostile Indian country in the Territories. It consisted of only 143 men; and as the train was marched mostly in one column, to form a permanent well-marked road, it could not protect the whole length from Indian assaults, and small parties of Indians could make dashes and be away before infantry could get within shooting distance of them. Some emigrants and some men, whom I had hired, turned back and would not make the trip on account of the insufficiency of the escort.

The loading of wagons and arrangement of teams being concluded at noon on the 13th, we broke camp and started on our way at two p. m. A platoon of infantry with a howitzer marched in advance, then came the wagons belonging to the escort, then a platoon of infantry, then the wagons belonging to the expedition, then a platoon of infantry, then the emigrants and freight train, and finally a platoon of infantry with a howitzer brought up the rear; while the guides and pioneers kept in advance of the whole column, so as to have as little delay as possible at bad places, and scouts moved whenever it was proper and necessary.

1. The first of these is the fact that the law of the land is not a static thing, but a living one, which grows and changes with the times. It is not a set of rules to be followed blindly, but a set of principles to be applied with wisdom and discretion. The law is not a collection of isolated rules, but a system of principles which are interrelated and which form a coherent whole. The law is not a set of rules to be followed blindly, but a set of principles to be applied with wisdom and discretion. The law is not a collection of isolated rules, but a system of principles which are interrelated and which form a coherent whole.

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At places where much work was required and the train obliged to stop, all hands took hold with a will, and the work finished up with despatch and in good manner.

Marched this day four miles, and camped on the south bank of the Niobrara, in the bottom. The grass, water, and wood at this camp were very good.

14th.—Paul Dorien, our Indian guide, who had left camp at Niobrara on the 11th instant, not making his appearance, I went to the Yankton agency in search of him, and found that he had deserted us and gone upon a hunt, notwithstanding his agreement to go with me, at a compensation of \$150 per month. I was sorry to lose his services, as he was called the best Indian guide in the country, though subject to sulky fits at times. I engaged in his place Baptiste Defond, a Yankton half-breed, who was recommended to me as a very good guide, and who served very faithfully as such till his discharge on the Big Horn river. My chief guide, Ben. F. Estes,* went through with me to Virginia City and back, as I had agreed with him. He was in Lieutenant (now General) Warren's party in 1856, and with us proved himself to combine all the qualities that go to make up a first-rate guide, combining great personal bravery with the most untiring energy, and withal very quiet and unassuming in his manners, speaking the Sioux language fluently, and having intimate knowledge of their manners and customs. He was of great assistance in making treaties whereby we were fully enabled to pass through the hostile Indians' country.

While I was gone to the agency the train travelled up the Niobrara to the Verdigris creek, up which they proceeded about a mile to obtain a suitable crossing. A good ford was made, and the train crossed and encamped on the west side of the creek, which is here about twenty feet wide by two and a half feet deep, with quicksand bed and very rapid current.

I would suggest the importance of building a good bridge over this creek, which could be done without great expense.

15th.—The command broke corral at 6½ a. m., and, ascending the bluffs of Verdigris creek, travelled over the

* Estes had been a sergeant in Co. A, Dak. Cav.

the first of these was the fact that the United States had
just won the war of 1812, and that the British had
surrendered to the United States. This was a great
victory for the United States, and it was a great
victory for the British as well. The British had
lost the war, and the United States had won it.

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lost the war, and the United States had won it.

high prairie, at some distance from the river, to avoid the short ravines leading into it. In the afternoon descended into the Niobrara bottom, and crossing Cedar creek, camped, at 4 p. m., on the east bank of a small creek called Swamp creek, which certainly was a misnomer, as it was a fine little stream. The train moved six miles this day, and I joined it, with Baptiste, in the afternoon. The grass, wood, and water at this camp were first-rate.

16th.—A very severe shower of rain fell last night. We broke camp and started at 6 a. m., and, travelling about four miles, (after crossing Swamp creek, over which we made a good ford), ascended again the bluffs, at a gentle slope, and travelled over the high prairie in a westerly direction. The river valley at this point is very beautiful, and covered with a luxuriant growth of vegetation. At noon came to the Mauvaises Terre creek, which we bridged at about two miles from its mouth. This stream is about fifteen feet wide by eighteen inches deep, with quite rapid current. Grass, wood, and water good at camp; timber chiefly burr-oak and cotton-wood.

Two of the escort deserted us at noon, and were not recaptured.

17th.—We had a very severe thunder-shower last night, and in the darkness many of the cattle escaped the herders, and much delay was occasioned in starting on that account. Having risen at 3½ a. m., we made ready and started at 7 a. m., and travelled over good fair country for thirteen miles, crossing Woozinga creek, and camping on the west bank of the Big Coulter, which is about twelve feet wide by eighteen inches deep, with rapid current over gravel bed. Good fords were made over both these creeks; but I would suggest the necessity of having them bridged for future travel, as the expense would not be very great, and crossing would be greatly facilitated thereby. Our course during the day was a little south of west, to head out the short ravines leading into the Niobrara. The face of the country is gently undulating, and covered with tall grass and flowers. Wood, water, and grass at camp first-rate.

18th.—Fine day. It being Sabbath, we remained in camp, as I had determined not to travel or work on the Sabbath, except in case of necessity. This day I distributed the arms received from General Sully to the men, as far as they would go.

19th.—Weather quite pleasant. Starting in good season, we travelled about thirteen miles over gently undulating prairie, crossing Cottonwood creek at noon, and camping, at 3 p. m., on a small creek called Mule creek; Cottonwood creek is about fifteen feet in width by one and a half feet deep, with rapid current over gravelly bed. A good ford was made over this creek, which, however, should be bridged. Grass and water on the route first-rate. The timber on the Cottonwood is principally cottonwood of a good quality, and burr-oak of a poor quality.

20th.—Day fine, but quite warm. Made fords over and crossed three small prairie streams during the day; all these streams were of very pure cold water. Surface of the country gently undulating and fine to travel over. The Forked Buttes, on the Keya Paha river, were visible to the northward all day. Our guides, in advance, shot two antelopes, great numbers of which were seen running about the prairie. Travelled thirteen and a half miles, and camped on the Little Platte, at 3½ p. m. This stream is about fifteen feet wide and clear, with a rapid current. Grass and wood good at camp.

21st.—Good travelling over high prairie. Crossed in the forenoon a creek about twelve feet wide; the channel of which being too deeply cut to admit of good ford for the double wagons, we bridged it. Considerable timber grows along this stream, chiefly burr-oak and cedar, of rather better quality than we had seen on most of the streams we had crossed. Fragments of limestone were found by Dr. Tingley,⁵ but he could find no out-cropping strata. To the southwest sandhills were seen, which our guides believed to extend to the river, and we therefore directed our course more northerly; but in the afternoon found that we could have travelled in a direct line, as the elevations were not as

⁵ Dr. D. W. Tingley whose report is given in Appendix B following.

sandy as they seemed at a distance, and we turned southward, till in a direct line with our road at noon. This bend in the road can be cut off without trouble, and considerable distance saved thereby. Camped at 4 p. m. on Small creek; grass and water good at camp, but wood scarce.

22d.—Weather cool and cloudy in the morning. Crossed the northern extremity of the sand-hills without difficulty, and entered upon a level prairie, stretching as far to the westward as the eye could reach, bounded on the south by the sand-hills. These are oblong elevations, running parallel, or nearly so, with the river, and increasing in elevation to the southward. Between these are small valleys, covered with tall grass, and the surface of the ground is hard but somewhat moist, and good to travel over. The hills are covered scantily with the usual prairie vegetation. Encamped on a small prairie creek at 5 p. m., having made about seventeen miles. Good grass and water on the creek.

23d.—Made a good ford over the stream, where we camped, and started on at 7 a. m. At about three miles out, came to a small stream of very fine water, growing along the banks of which was oak and cedar trees. Made a good ford over this stream, and, crossing, ascended a gentle slope, and came on a wide, level plain, fine to travel over, and covered with a heavy growth of bearded grass, which, waving in the wind, had the appearance of an immense grain-field. At ten miles out came to the head of a deep ravine, near which we passed by. The sides of the ravine were quite steep, and composed of limestone, with white sandstone above it, with oak, pine, and cedar trees growing on them. At fourteen and a half miles came to Pine creek, upon which we camped at 4 p. m. This creek has much pine and cedar timber of a second-rate quality growing on its banks. Grass, wood, and water plenty and good. The weather was cool in the morning, but sultry in the middle of the day. Several mules in the escort train gave out during the day.

24th.—A very severe thunder-shower occurred last night, and it still rained in the morning, but it broke away early, and by 9 o'clock everything had dried off so that we could start. To hasten the crossing two good fords were made

over this creek, which is about forty feet wide, with rapid current and quicksand bottom. Teams were doubled for the crossing and ascent of the bluff on the opposite side, which was very wet and heavy from the recent rain. After ascending the bluff we came to a very fine table-land, over which we travelled in a westerly direction, and camped on the plateau at the bank of the Niobrara at about 1 p. m., between the heads of two ravines, in each of which were springs of the purest cold water, and here was also plenty of fine grass for the animals, and oak, pine, cedar, and cottonwood grew in abundance in the ravines and river bottoms. On account of our late start, and the time taken in making fords, we travelled only five miles today. The country over which we came was very fine to travel over.

25th.—Sunday. Remained in camp all day.

26th.—Weather fine and cool for travelling. Made about seventeen and a half miles, and corralled on a fine stream called Lone Pine creek; it is about 25 feet wide by 2 feet deep, with gravelly bottom and swift current. The face of the country today was gently rolling, and fine to travel over. During the day's march we passed along the side of a deep canyon running into the Niobrara. The walls were from 50 to 100 feet in perpendicular height, composed of lime and sandstone, embedded in which Dr. Tingley found many fragments of fossil bones and petrified wood; grass, wood, and water abundant; course a little south of west, to avoid the heads of ravines running into the river. Near the stream where we camped we passed the trail of two or three hundred Indians, which had been made quite recently; a sharp lookout was kept, but none were seen by the scouts.

27th.—Made a ford at the stream, and crossed without difficulty. Course during the day westerly, and, by making occasionally small detours, a good road was obtained. Some sand-hills were located near the route, which we avoided. Camped at 3 p. m. on a small stream with good grass and water, and cedar and pine sufficient for fuel. Weather hot and sultry, and three mules of the escort train gave out during the day.

28th.—Severe thunder-shower last night, and some rain this morning. The first two miles of our day's travel today were quite rough and broken, but at the end of that distance we entered the valley of Bear creek, which, running from the west, enabled us to travel up it for about nine miles, where we made a ford, crossed over, and camped on the north side at 2 p. m. The creek valley is about three-fourths of a mile wide, level, and covered with a most luxuriant growth of grass. It seems to be the finest place for farming that we had seen, though for timber one would have to go to the river, distant about five miles. The stream is very sluggish, being backed up by a succession of beaver dams. No wood at this camp, but plenty of "buffalo chips."

29th.—Cool in the morning, but a pleasant day. Travelled fifteen and a half miles, and camped at 4½ p. m. on the Niobrara bottom, at the mouth of a small stream. This point we were obliged to make to cross this stream, the channel being cut through a canyon on the high prairie with almost perpendicular sides. During the day we passed a very fine stream about six feet wide, running very swiftly over a rocky bed, over which a ford was made without difficulty. Below the ford the ledges break off very fast, making a canyon, through which the stream ran. The sides were composed of lime and sandstone rock, imbedded in which Dr. Tingley discovered the fossil remains of two huge tortoises quite perfect and entire; the transverse diameter of each could not have been less than three feet. Much petrified wood was also seen on the banks of the creek. The surface of the country during the day was generally quite good to travel over. At the point where we camped on the river the upper line of bluffs is capped with pine, and lower down grow oak, pine, and some cottonwood. In many places, Dr. Tingley pointed out the remains of a river terrace. The river here is about 100 yards in width, by 1½ to 2 feet deep, with quicksand bottom. Opposite camp the ground slopes very gradually from the river to the high prairie; near camp also, on the opposite side, were several Indian graves, buried in their usual manner, by being placed on scaffolds placed on posts set in the ground. At this point, on account of his

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation. It is only about 150 years old, and its history is therefore a history of a young nation. The second is the fact that the United States is a large nation. It is the third largest country in the world, and its population is the second largest. The third is the fact that the United States is a powerful nation. It is the most powerful country in the world, and its power is based on its military, economic, and cultural strength. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a free nation. It is the only country in the world that is a free nation, and its freedom is based on its democratic principles. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a peaceful nation. It is the only country in the world that is a peaceful nation, and its peace is based on its non-violent principles.

The sixth is the fact that the United States is a progressive nation. It is the only country in the world that is a progressive nation, and its progress is based on its scientific and technological achievements. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a tolerant nation. It is the only country in the world that is a tolerant nation, and its tolerance is based on its religious and ethnic diversity. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a just nation. It is the only country in the world that is a just nation, and its justice is based on its legal system. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a free nation. It is the only country in the world that is a free nation, and its freedom is based on its democratic principles. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a peaceful nation. It is the only country in the world that is a peaceful nation, and its peace is based on its non-violent principles. The eleventh is the fact that the United States is a progressive nation. It is the only country in the world that is a progressive nation, and its progress is based on its scientific and technological achievements. The twelfth is the fact that the United States is a tolerant nation. It is the only country in the world that is a tolerant nation, and its tolerance is based on its religious and ethnic diversity. The thirteenth is the fact that the United States is a just nation. It is the only country in the world that is a just nation, and its justice is based on its legal system. The fourteenth is the fact that the United States is a free nation. It is the only country in the world that is a free nation, and its freedom is based on its democratic principles. The fifteenth is the fact that the United States is a peaceful nation. It is the only country in the world that is a peaceful nation, and its peace is based on its non-violent principles. The sixteenth is the fact that the United States is a progressive nation. It is the only country in the world that is a progressive nation, and its progress is based on its scientific and technological achievements. The seventeenth is the fact that the United States is a tolerant nation. It is the only country in the world that is a tolerant nation, and its tolerance is based on its religious and ethnic diversity. The eighteenth is the fact that the United States is a just nation. It is the only country in the world that is a just nation, and its justice is based on its legal system. The nineteenth is the fact that the United States is a free nation. It is the only country in the world that is a free nation, and its freedom is based on its democratic principles. The twentieth is the fact that the United States is a peaceful nation. It is the only country in the world that is a peaceful nation, and its peace is based on its non-violent principles.

teams giving out, Captain Williford cached a load of pork and fish, and abandoned his poorest wagon, by which means he would have an occasional change, and thus better enable his teams to do their work.

30th.—Our guides informed us that the next stream to cross would be Snake river, which ran through a canyon, and could not be crossed except at some distance from its mouth. We, therefore, after making a ford over the stream at camp and crossing, shaped our course more to the southward, and came to the place where we decided to cross Snake river, after about sixteen miles' travel. This point is about ten miles from its mouth; grass fair, and wood and water plenty at camp. About two miles below where we camped the river runs over falls of about 6, 10, and 25 feet respectively, making a very fine appearance at camp; it is about 100 feet wide, by a foot in depth, with sandy bottom; with some work, a good ford was made over it. Recent Indian signs were seen quite numerously. The scenery below camp on the river is very grand and beautiful. The walls of the canyon are composed of rocks of a cretaceous character, lime and sandstone, with marl, in which many fossil remains were discovered.

July 1st.—Day very warm, and road in many places very heavy, and we doubled our teams to cross the river and ascend the bluffs on the opposite side; at noon the mercury stood at 90° in the shade. After crossing we travelled about twelve miles in a northwesterly direction to strike the Niobrara again, and at 5 p. m., no water having been found, and men and teams suffering much from want of it, I decided to leave the train and drive the animals, with the cook-wagons, to the river, distant about four miles to camp, where we arrived at sundown, much fatigued.

2d.—Weather warmer; mercury 103° in the shade at noon, and 106° at 2 p. m. The wagons taken to the river last night were sent up the river, under command of my engineer, to await the arrival of the balance of the train. As the road, from the train to the point I wished to make on the river, was to be very rough and heavy with sand, and the weather was most excessively warm, I decided to bring

in only half the train this day, which was accomplished at 2 p. m. Two oxen died from heat during the day, and a soldier was rendered insensible from sun-stroke.

3d.—Believing that a better road could be obtained by keeping near the Niobrara, from our camp on the 30th ultimo to this point, and having decided to remain at this camp till the 5th instant, I sent Judge Smith,⁶ my engineer, on a reconnoissance to the mouth of Snake river, with an escort of four men of company B, Dakota cavalry; three of the men straggled and came back to camp, being afraid of Indians, but he made the reconnoissance accompanied by one man. He reported that the only obstacle was at the mouth of Snake river, where much heavy grading would have to be made for a short distance, and that a bridge should then be built over Snake river; this done, a good road might be obtained, cutting off considerable distance. He returned at 9 p. m., having travelled about fifty miles during the day; during the day the balance of the train was brought into camp in good shape; mercury 100° in the shade at 1 p. m. Grass, wood, and water plenty at this camp.

4th.—Very warm day, mercury 103° in the shade at noon, and breezes from the south blowing excessively hot. The escort were drilled, inspected, and fired a salute at noon.

5th.—Started at 5½ a. m., and travelled eight miles through rolling country, with some sand in places, and camped, at 12 m., on the south bank of a spring ravine of pure cold water. Grass fair, and wood and water plenty. Dr. Tingley found on the river bluffs, on this day's travel, the head of the femur, or thighbone of a mastodon, with many other fossil bones, teeth, and much petrified wood, and arrived at camp, as usual, laden down with fossil remains. Course, during the day, somewhat south of west.

6th.—Rain fell during the night, and the weather was cool in the morning. Graded down the banks of the ravine, and crossed at about a mile above our camp; travelled then about thirteen miles, and camped on the high prairie near the bank of the Niobrara. Surface of the country today

⁶ Lewis H. Smith, Fort Dodge, Iowa, who had served with Col. Sawyer in defense of Iowa's northern border, 1862-1863. See Appendix A.

was mostly high, level table-land, easy to travel over. Course, during the day, westerly. Numerous springs of pure, cold, soft water gushed out of the river-bed near our camp, and wood and grass were abundant.

7th.—Weather very fine; travelled about four miles over rolling country, where occasionally grading had to be done, but at the end of that distance we emerged again upon a high table-land, over which we travelled for the balance of the day; plenty of wood, grass, and water along the route; arrived at camp at 3 p. m., and at 5½ p. m. a very severe thunder-shower occurred, but it cleared away before dark, leaving the air pure and refreshing; travelled fifteen miles that day.

8th.—Very fine day; the road today was laid over a broad valley, which here extends for some distance on both sides of the river; made twelve miles, and at 2½ p. m. arrived at a fine spring-stream, over which we made a ford, and camped on the west side in a very fine site; plenty of grass at camp, and wood on the river, half a mile below the camp. The surface of the country here is very fine to travel over; the river at this point flows in a single channel, over a rocky bed, and through a canyon eighty to one hundred feet in depth, though in some places the ground slopes gradually from the plateau to the river-bed, alternating on either side. Very recent Indian signs were seen, and one of the scouts saw where an antelope had been killed by them on yesterday.

9th.—Some slight showers fell last night, but the day was very pleasant. It being Sunday, we remained in camp. Fossil remains were found in abundance by the men on the banks of the creek between camp and the river. The surface of the country about is level or gently undulating, and very fine to travel over, and we have made good progress during the last few days, but little work having been required to make a first-rate road-bed. Scouts report seeing Indians today, who refused to communicate with them.

10th.—Weather cool this morning, and a dense fog obscured all objects at a short distance, on account of which we had some difficulty in collecting the herd together; but

we got a fair start, and, travelling over a fine level or gently undulating table-land, came to the place where the guides had decided to cross the Niobrara to the north side, which was just above the mouth of Antelope creek; the river at this point is about two hundred feet wide by one and a half feet deep, and runs swiftly over a rocky bed. All hands were set at work making a ford, which was thus soon accomplished, and the teams crossed without difficulty; travelled about twelve miles, and camped on a bluff near the river. The grass, wood, and water were good on the route today. On the north side of the river we saw, in many places, the wagon-track which Estes, our chief guide, recognized as that made by Lieutenant (now General) Warren,⁷ in 1856.

11th.—Very fine, cool day. Travelled about sixteen miles over a level or gently rolling country, and camped on the bluff, near a small creek, which we called Rush creek, from the quantity of rushes there abounding. Grass and water were plenty at camp, but for wood we had to go about a mile. The escort mules, as usual, gave out occasionally during the day. The guides having decided to leave this river and strike for White river tomorrow, a squad of the cavalry were detailed to accompany Baptiste on a reconnaissance towards that river. All of them, however, straggled back to camp, leaving him alone; he arrived, however, safely in camp at 11 p. m., having ridden hard all day.

12th.—A supply of wood was procured on the creek above camp, and we travelled eight miles up the creek, in the direction of White river, and camped on the last water on the creek, at 12 m. Surface of the country good to travel over, but soil rather poor; grass at camp good. Our chief guide in advance reported a fight with two Indians, from whom he captured two ponies.

13th.—Made an early start, and travelled in a north-westerly direction about fifteen miles, over a rolling country, but good to travel over, camping, at 4 p. m., on the head of a ravine leading into White river. Grass, wood, and water fair at camp; good springs of pure water were obtained by

⁷ Gouverneur Kemble Warren who was in the Dakota country, 1855-1857.

digging; the soil on the high lands is rather poor. Elk and antelope were seen during the day in great numbers. The Black Hills were seen, for the first time, from a bluff on the west side of the camp.

14th.—This day we came into the country on the south side of the White river, known as the Bad Lands,^s travelled fourteen miles nearly north over a circuitous route and camped at 3 p. m. on a spring ravine leading into White river; in several places we were obliged to cut down the trees, clear out the road, and grade down some short pitches, but the day's travel, taken as a whole, was quite easy on the cattle, though very warm, the mercury standing at 95° at 2 p. m.; some mules, as usual, gave out during the day; water, grass, and wood, good at camp; the scouts report seeing Indians at night, but none came near camp.

15th.—Very warm day, mercury standing at 94° at 2 p. m.; travelled fifteen miles over a very circuitous route to avoid the ravines in the Bad Lands, and much time was consumed in grading down some steep cuts, so that the train could pass, but this was finally accomplished with ease to the teams. Baptiste, in advance, discovered an Indian scout, and hailed him, but he ran away and could not be overtaken in the rough country. Camped at 4½ p. m., on White river. Grass and wood in fair quantity at camp. A more thorough reconnoissance than we had time to make should be made at this place, by which, I am of the opinion, with a reasonable amount of work, at least eight or ten miles could be saved from the distance travelled during the last three days.

16th.—Today being the Sabbath, we remained in camp; heavy rains fell last night, and the ground is very muddy today; weather cool and cloudy; the river rose about four feet last night from the rain that fell. The surface of the country away from the river bottoms is barren, and very rough and rocky, and cut up by numerous ravines. Many kinds of rocks are exposed to view with white and variegated clays; ochre beds, of various colors, shales, veins of selenite,

^s The printed report has Bad "Sands" but "Lands" is clearly intended. The compositor, who followed longhand copy, confused the capital "L's" and "S's" in this instance and later in setting the name "Sears" which appeared as "Lears." See Note 18.

and fibrous and stalactatite forms of gypsum. The veins of selenite were from two to six inches in thickness, descending perpendicularly through the shales and crossing each other at right angles.

17th.—Weather cool, cloudy, and windy; the river at this point was forty or fifty feet wide, with high banks and gravelly bottom, with the water of a whitish color like that in the Missouri river, which circumstance probably gave the river its name; the waters having fallen to about their common level, all hands were set at work digging down the banks, cutting brush and putting it in at the water's edge to prevent the wagons cutting into the banks, and the teams were all crossed and on their way westward at 9½ a. m.; crossed two small creeks and camped on the west bank of one, at nine miles distance from last night's camp; over the last creek we put a bridge, and at the former made a ford; crossed General Harney's old trail from Laramie to Pierre⁹ on the north side of the river in the valley. The surface of the country today was rolling, but easy to travel over, except that it was somewhat heavy from the recent rains; grass fair at camp, but wood scarce; many high rocky buttes were seen to the north and northeast of us, and many strata of loose shales were exposed along the route, dipping in various directions, mostly southeast; through these were veins of selenite, and large concretions contained within cavities lined with beautiful crystals of carbonate of lime. There was also in many places exposed a light-colored stratum strongly impregnated with an acid thought to be sulphuric.

18th.—Got an early start and travelled fifteen miles in a northwesterly direction, over a ridge between two creeks running into White river, and passing the divide between the White and Cheyenne rivers; camped at 5 p. m. on the west side of Dry-wood creek, which we bridged. The country to the southward is gently rolling, but that north and northeastward is very rough, and of the nature of the Bad Lands; grass good at camp; water fair, and a fair supply of timber for camping purposes. The soil hereabouts is thin and rather poor. The valley of the creek is nearly level, and

⁹ Gen. W. S. Harney's trail from Ft. Laramie to Ft. Pierre, 1855.

lays very fine. Passed during the day a very symmetrical butte, about two hundred feet in height, composed of fossiliferous limestone; the soil during the day's march was mostly dark clay or marl; the creek is about eighteen feet wide by one and a half feet in depth, and runs very sluggishly.

19th.—Came fourteen miles over a fair-laying country, at a distance of about ten miles south of and parallel to the South Cheyenne river. At about noon it became cloudy, and a severe storm came up, the wind blowing in succession from all points of the compass; the mud soon became so deep that it was impossible to travel, and we corralled on the banks of a ravine through which ran a large stream, the effects of the rain; nothing was found worthy of mention at this camp, except the mud; the country was very fair to travel over, except from the effects of the rain.

20th.—Rain fell last night during most of the night, but in the morning it cleared up somewhat, and after drying off a little we yoked up and started. The mud drying up somewhat during the forenoon, we got along without serious trouble, and coming at noon to a small creek leading into Hat creek, we corralled, and spread out our camp equipage to dry; grass and water were abundant at this camp, and sufficient wood for camping purposes. Captain Williford, commanding the escort, had announced to me that his men were likely to be greatly in need of clothing before the end of the expedition, as he had drawn only three months' supplies on starting from Leavenworth, and but very little could be obtained at Sioux City. As Fort Laramie was the nearest post at which it was supposed that anything of that nature could be obtained, he decided to go there for supplies, much to my regret, as we should thereby lose at least one, and perhaps two, weeks of the best part of the season; but there seemed to be no help for it, and accordingly I loaned him one of our wagons, which was lighter than his army wagons, and to which he attached six of his best mules for the journey, to be accompanied by an escort of fifteen mounted men, commanded by Lieutenant Dana,¹⁰ his acting quartermaster.

¹⁰ Not identified.

It was arranged that we should proceed by short stages, and be joined again by this party on the Dry fork of the Cheyenne, up which we had determined to travel for some way. The result of this arrangement will be seen in the sequel.

21st.—Lieutenant Dana's party left for Laramie, distant about seventy-five miles, this morning at 8½ o'clock; weather cool and very fine; remained in camp all day, having detailed a party to work digging down the banks of Hat creek, which we decided to cross about two miles below camp. On the east side of the place selected for crossing was a perpendicular bank, over twenty feet high, of very hard, compact clay, through which a roadway had to be dug from the table-land to the creek bed.

22d.—Party still at work grading down the bank of Hat creek. The creek is about seventy-five feet wide by one foot and a half deep, running swiftly over slate bed rock. There is considerable cottonwood growing on it, and in places between it and the Cheyenne considerable pine timber is growing. Another party was sent on a reconnoissance to the Cheyenne, which flows at the south base of the Black Hills, at about eight or ten miles from camp. They report the river to be about three hundred feet wide by one and a half to two feet deep, and running through a canyon with almost perpendicular walls, two hundred to three hundred feet in height. The walls were composed mostly of reddish sandstone. Very recent Indian signs were seen by this party, but no Indians were discovered. Recent trails were also discovered by guides and scouts who were out to the westward on reconnoissance, and from indications they believed we had been seen by one party, who had retreated.

23d.—Sunday, remained in camp all day; forenoon very pleasant, but at about 4 p. m. occurred the worst hail-storm I had ever seen; every tent but one was blown down in an instant, and that kept erect only by the united efforts of three men. Cattle, horses, and mules, all stampeded before the storm in one confused mass. At least three inches of hail fell in a few minutes, and everything was completely soaked through, heavy duck wagon covers seeming to offer

but little resistance to the penetrating rain; but the storm was too violent to be of long duration, and subsided in the course of half an hour, when the rest of the day was spent in hunting up the scattered herd and putting things together as snugly as possible. Our large Sibley tents were much torn in being blown down, and much camp equipage was blown away, and could not be found after the storm. The backs of many cattle were pelted with hail till they bled.

24th.—The day broke fine; spread out our bedding and other articles to dry, and at 11 a. m. broke camp, and crossing Hat creek, camped on the west side, near the creek; grass, water, and wood plenty at camp. Most of the grass found in this region is the gramma grass, which is very sweet and nutritious, and appears to have great fattening properties for stock. As we did not expect to make very long journeys till joined again by Lieutenant Dana's party, we camped after making two miles today.

25th.—Day fine, but quite warm at noon, mercury standing at 85° at 1 p. m.; travelled fifteen miles over a fair-lying country, with clayey soil, rather heavy from recent rains; saw one buffalo that had been killed by Indians within two days, only a part of which had been taken by them; camped at 2½ p. m. on Horse-head creek, which leads into the Cheyenne; grass rather scarce at camp. During the day we passed through a gap in a ridge of limestone that extended from north to south across our paths; it was about fifty feet in height, with strata dipping to the west at an angle of about 35°. We got rained upon again on our arrival at camp. The pioneers, immediately on our arrival at camp, made a good ford over the creek to facilitate and hasten our crossing tomorrow.

26th.—Got a good start and crossed the creek without difficulty. At the ford we came to Sage creek, distant five and a half miles, at 10½ a. m. The channel of this creek being cut too deep to admit of making a good ford for the double wagons of the freight train, we bridged it, and, crossing, camped on the west side. Greasewood, sage, and cactus are abundant on the high land, but grass in the low valleys and ravines is plenty and of good quality. Wood is scarce,

the first of the great principles of the American Revolution, the right of the people to be free from the oppression of a tyrannical government. This principle was the foundation of the American Republic, and it was the first of the great principles of the American Revolution. It was the first of the great principles of the American Revolution, and it was the first of the great principles of the American Revolution.

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but plenty can be obtained for camping purposes. Large concretions, containing within most beautiful crystals of calcareous spar, were very numerous on this creek, and many beautiful specimens were obtained, but discarded for want of transportation.

27th.—Travelled seven miles westward over a sterile country, but easy to travel upon. Many patches of the wild cherry were seen loaded with fruit. Bear tracks, made on yesterday, were seen by scouts, but no bear came in sight. Weather cool and fine for travelling; grass and water good at camp; got into camp at 12 m.

28th.—Starting at 5½ a. m., and travelling in a westerly direction twelve miles, we came to the South Cheyenne at about 12 m. The high ground travelled over is quite barren, and covered with broad-leafed cactus; but grass is abundant in all the ravines and low-lands, and on the bottoms at the river is the best gramma grass we have seen, much of it standing one a half feet in height. The guides in advance saw buffalo cross the river, and Baptiste creeping upon them laid one of them low with one well-directed shot from his sure rifle; this gave us plenty of fresh meat for a change in camp. All hands were set at work digging down the banks, and cutting and hauling logs and brush to put in at the water's edge to prevent the wagons cutting in too deeply at the ford. A good ford was made in the afternoon ready for crossing on the morrow. On this river is a belt of cottonwood timber about eighty rods in width, but of a rather stunted growth. The stream is about one hundred and twenty-five feet wide by one foot deep, with sandy bed and much quicksand in many places, but the bed at crossing was quite firm and hard.

29th.—Crossed the river and moved camp one mile to the north side. Day very warm, mercury standing at 99° in the shade at 2 p. m. At 3½ a. m. a party was sent on a reconnoissance to the Black Hills, distant about eight or ten miles.

30th.—A very warm day; remained in camp all day; mercury indicating 96° in the shade at noon. The party

returned from the Black Hills in the afternoon, and reported that they crossed Beaver creek a few miles above its junction with the Cheyenne, and ascended the mountain ridge on the west side of the hill, when a vast plain twenty miles in width spread out to their view. The soil was apparently composed of red clay, which being cut up by numerous ravines, presented, when reviewed from the mountain top, a very grand and beautiful appearance. The descent into this valley being very difficult, the party returned back and came to camp. Pine and cedar timber of a second-rate quality grows in abundance on these mountains. No recent Indian signs were seen by the party.

- 31st.—Very high wind, which made travelling very uncomfortable, came twenty miles over a rough stony country, cut up considerably by ravines, the grading of which kept the pioneers quite busy all day; our course was nearly northwest during the day, and we kept the ridge away from the stream to avoid the ravines putting into it. Soil varying, but mostly poor, producing nothing except sage, brush, greasewood and cactus, with a fair supply of gramma grass in the low places. The most remarkable feature of the country is the appearance of the stone which abounded along the route, and was mostly sandstone; from some cause, probably concretionary structure, the strata varied in hardness, and in many places the lower strata appeared to have been washed or blown away in whole or part, leaving the upper stratum lying as if on pillars, or loosely on the ground where its support had failed. Columns of this sandstone capped with rocks so wide as to afford shelter from the sun were numerous among these stones. Among the rocks in the latter part of the day's travel were found beds of clay, apparently local, containing bones of extinct animals of a very large size in one place Dr. Tingley observed these bones to completely cover the ground for a considerable space around. Encamped on the creek, near which we discovered a trail supposed to have been made by Lieutenant (now General) Reynolds¹¹ on his reconnoissance through that country.

¹¹ William Franklin Reynolds who led an expedition into the Yellowstone region, 1859-1860.

August 1st.—Weather pleasant, but windy; travelled eleven miles up Dry fork of the Cheyenne over a hard, solid road-bed, and camped on the creek at 1 p. m. The high prairie on the route is barren of everything except cactus, sage brush, and greasewood, but a fair supply of grass grows in the ravines and low places. There appeared to be much more water in the stream as we ascended it, but the current was very sluggish, being backed up by a succession of beaver dams. A party of Indians with about twenty ponies and one shod horse, with two footmen, had passed up this stream about two weeks before apparently in great haste, as the ponies were kept at a gallop all the time. At about 10 p. m. Lieutenant Dana arrived with his command from Laramie with no supplies, having foolishly left their wagon to come up with a detachment which they said was ordered to come from Laramie to the Black Hills, pass around and join General Connor,¹² supposed to be on the Powder river.

2d.—The cavalry were today ordered back to ascend the old Nomerus fork, in the direction of Laramie, to see if tidings could be obtained of the wagon sent for clothing and left by Lieutenant Dana, and we engaged to proceed by short journeys until they should overtake us. Travelled up the creek about fourteen miles and camped; grass poor but wood and water plenty; rocks were seen on the two previous days of almost every imaginable form; country good to travel over, being tolerably level and with compact soil.

3d.—The main branch of the creek being thought to run too much south of our course we left it, and travelling four miles camped on a dry creek, but where there was good grass with water in the creek at a mile distant; after camping the guides went ahead on a reconnoissance.

4th.—Cloudy in the morning and some rain in the forenoon; travelled seventeen miles northwestwardly, and leaving the tributaries of the South Cheyenne came over to a branch of the North Cheyenne. Passed a vein of lignite on the summit between these streams, which, however, was but of limited extent. A fire was built at the edge of it by some

¹² Gen. Patrick Edward Connor, commanding a three column expedition against northern tribes in their favorite hunting grounds.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and development. The second is the fact that the United States is a large nation, and that its history is a history of expansion and conquest. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse nation, and that its history is a history of conflict and compromise. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is a history of assimilation and integration. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of pioneers, and that its history is a history of exploration and discovery. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of entrepreneurs, and that its history is a history of innovation and progress. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of leaders, and that its history is a history of vision and leadership. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of heroes, and that its history is a history of courage and sacrifice. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of dreamers, and that its history is a history of hope and aspiration. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of believers, and that its history is a history of faith and conviction.

The history of the United States is a story of a nation that has grown from a small colony to a great power. It is a story of a nation that has expanded its territory from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific Ocean. It is a story of a nation that has fought for its freedom and its independence. It is a story of a nation that has built a great empire. It is a story of a nation that has made great contributions to the world. It is a story of a nation that has inspired the world. It is a story of a nation that has shown the world what is possible. It is a story of a nation that has changed the world. It is a story of a nation that has made a difference. It is a story of a nation that has left a legacy. It is a story of a nation that has shaped the future. It is a story of a nation that has made a mark on the world.

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of the men, and it burned quite freely. We also saw here large concretionary structures, some of them seven or eight feet in diameter, of circular shape, and fractured and divided by both radiating and concentric lines so as to separate the blocks into segments of a circle resembling well-bricks. Crossed during the day several dry ravines, which we graded down and made good crossings over; camped at 1 p. m. Grass and water fair, but wood scarce at camp.

5th.—Travelled five and a half miles, crossing a divide where the bluffs were stratified with lignite and sandstone, and camped on a branch of the North Cheyenne at 10 a. m.; grass and cottonwood plenty; water like that in the Missouri river, but good to the taste and clears off by standing a short time; back from the stream, on the southeast, were many high bluffs capped with pine and cedar trees.

6th.—Sunday, remained in camp; the guides went on a reconnoissance, and while out shot some buffalo and packed a quantity of the meat on their ponies to camp; weather fine, but rather too warm for comfort.

7th.—Came northwest eight and a half miles, and at noon camped on another branch of the North Cheyenne; during the forenoon we passed several small ravines, which we graded down and made good crossings over. The guides and scouts went ahead on a reconnoissance, on our arrival at camp, and reported on their return that to the west of us the buffalo were travelling northwestward in great numbers; weather very warm; grass, water, and wood plenty at camp.

8th.—Travelled up the stream to the west about six miles, crossing it several times; at each crossing we were obliged to dig down the banks and make fords; this day's work was very fatiguing to all; camped on the same stream at night with a fair amount of wood, water, and grass at camp. To the southward of camp, at about a mile, the scouts discovered a vein of coal on fire, which apparently had been burning for some time; the seam was at the foot of a bluff, and the clay above was falling upon it as it burned, and much heat and some smoke issued through the crevices. The coal was bituminous, of a good quality, and burned freely in the open air with comparatively little smoke.

9th.—Fine day, but quite warm; moved up the stream eight and a half miles over a fair-lying open country, and camped at noon; there was but little wood at camp, but grass and water were plenty and of first-rate quality; in many places were here seen large circular red buttes rising abruptly from the plain, apparently composed of stone of a volcanic origin, but each butte being regular and symmetrical in form, presented a very fine appearance; from this point we decided to strike northwest to Powder river, to pass, if possible, to the north side of Pumpkin buttes. Today the cavalry returned from their scout and reported no tidings of the wagon left by Lieutenant Dana, so that on the whole we had been delayed more than a week, and no good has resulted therefrom.

On the 10th and 11th instants we marched thirty-two miles over a rolling country with but little water or wood, though grass was abundant; a reconnoissance was then made to Powder river, and we decided that, owing to the very bad lands on Powder river and lack of water, a road there would be impracticable for travel. At our camp on the 11th instant we found large quantities of first-rate bituminous coal—the best I have ever seen in the west; from the amounts seen cropping out I should think it almost inexhaustible.

13th.—Having decided to retrace our steps to our camp of the 9th instant, and from thence make the road, and travel to Powder river on the south side of Pumpkin buttes, we started this morning; at noon, as the heat was excessive, we corralled near some small springs to water our stock. While here Nat. D. Hedges,¹³ of Sioux City, who was scouting about one and a half miles from camp, was surprised and killed by a party of Cheyenne Indians, who at the same time made a dash on our herd and stampeded and drove off eight cavalry horses. A party immediately volunteered, and scouting out, found the body of Mr. Hedges scalped and mutilated. He was a young man who had charge of the private freight train that accompanied the expedition, was about nineteen years of age and of much promise, being a genial and

¹³ Nathaniel D. Hedges, Sioux City, Iowa.

pleasant companion, and of very correct habits; his loss cast a gloom over the camp not soon dispelled. From this point we travelled till after dark on our back track and at 9 p. m. corralled, keeping a strict guard.

14th.—Travelled two and a half miles, and corraling on a good site turned out our cattle for water and grass. A large party of Indians drove in the pickets and made a dash at the herd, but were beaten off and got none. Having made a rude coffin from some boards of an abandoned government wagon, we buried young Hedges at 5 p. m. in the centre of the corral, taking pains to conceal the grave so that no one except those present should be able to find it, on account of Indians. Weather during the day fine, but rather warm.

15th.—Fine morning. The bluffs around at sunrise were covered with Indians to the number of 500 to 600, and fighting was commenced by their charging down over the plain and shooting into the corral; each charge was repulsed, however, and at about noon they called for peace. After some parleying, I decided to treat with them, and for some bacon, sugar, coffee, flour and tobacco, they agreed to let us go on our way. The minority, however, were discontented with this treaty, but were restrained by the majority from fighting. I endeavored to keep the men as much away from them as possible, fearing trouble, but two of the escort ventured out among them, and in the melee were shot; their names were Anthony Nelson¹⁴ and John Rawze,¹⁵ of company B, Dakota cavalry. The Indians immediately left, and a party sent out to reconnoitre found the body of Nelson and brought it to camp. We buried him at dark in a rifle-pit on the west side of the corral. The scouts reported several ponies killed in the ravines near camp, which was probably done by shells from our howitzers. These Indians were mostly Cheyennes and Sioux.

16th.—Morning fine, but day very warm, yoked up, and coming ten miles, encamped at 11 a. m., at our camp of the 9th instant, at which place we determined to stay, and send

¹⁴Anthony Nelson was a farmer at Vermillion, Dak. Ty. He joined Co. B, Dakota Cavalry, Sept. 11, 1862, when 18 years of age.

¹⁵John Rouse (Rawse), a member of the Shober party from Minn., was a farmer at Bon Homme, Dak. Ty. He enlisted in Yankton on Sept. 8, 1862, serving with Co. B, Dak. Cav.

a scouting party to Powder river, to discover, if possible, any trail of General Connor, whom we supposed to have gone down Powder river on an expedition. Our escort commander began to grow faint-hearted, and all the officers, except Lieutenant Marshall,¹⁶ were clamorous for the abandonment of the expedition and proceeding to Laramie as fast as possible. I endeavored to get a cavalry escort to volunteer to go with our scouts to Powder river, but the men refused to volunteer, and the commander did not incline to detail them, so the scouts concluded to go alone on the morrow. At 6 p. m. a party of Indians drove in the pickets, and made a dash at the herd, but were beaten off and got nothing.

17th.—At 2 a. m. our scouts, Lieutenant Colonel Godfrey,¹⁷ late of 2d Maine cavalry, and Charles W. Sears,¹⁸ with Estes and Defond, our guides, started alone on a reconnaissance to Powder river, and at daylight were far away from camp. The cattle were herded during the day by the drivers and pioneers, there seeming to be an indisposition on the part of the escort commander to expose his men as pickets; he seemed, in fact, indisposed to do much of anything, except to go to Laramie by the shortest route. A few Indians were seen during the day lurking behind the bluffs at a mile or so from camp.

18th.—Remained in camp; drivers and pioneers herded cattle all day; day warm and pleasant.

19th.—The reconnoitering party arrived in camp this morning at about 6 o'clock, and reported that a good road may be made to Powder river, distant about 50 miles; that General Connor had passed down the Dry fork about two days since, from appearances, with a large train. They had been almost constantly in the saddle for about 50 hours, and had ridden about 150 miles during that time. One horse had given out, and was left at about 16 miles from camp, on their return; he was, however, recovered on the next day. All the Indians on the river had apparently gone northward, as no signs were seen of late date. Started the train at 8½.

¹⁶ Not identified.

¹⁷ John F. Godfrey, Bangor, Me.

¹⁸ Charles W. Sears, Onawa, Iowa.

a. m., and travelled southwest to pass to the south of Pumpkin buttes; came $16\frac{1}{2}$ miles over good-lying country, and camped on branch of the north Cheyenne; grass and water plenty, but wood scarce.

20th.—Sunday, pleasant day; remained in camp all day.

21st.—Started at $8\frac{1}{2}$ a. m., and at noon corralled awhile to water our stock; then proceeding in a direction a little south of west, made about 17 miles by $8\frac{1}{2}$ p. m., when a wagon tire came off a government wagon, and we were forced to camp about 6 miles east of the buttes; good grass, but no water at camp.

22d.—Very hard day's travel; came 6 miles and passed through the gap between the two most southern buttes, and thence travelled 16 miles over rough country in a northwest direction, and came at 4 p. m. to the Dry fork of Powder river, where we camped; the day was very warm, and one ox died, and several mules gave out from heat and neglect of the wagon-master of the escort train to water them when he had an opportunity; grass was scarce in the immediate vicinity of camp, as General Connor's command had camped near this spot with large trains, which had eaten it off. There seemed to have been but little rain here this season, everything being much parched by heat.

23d.—Captain Williford having refused to escort the train further, I sent Lieutenant Colonel Godfrey, with Baptiste, to discover, if possible, the whereabouts of General Connor, who was certainly on Powder river below us. They found Fort Connor about thirteen miles below us, but General Connor gone on an expedition to Tongue river. Colonel Godfrey reported the facts in our case to Colonel Kidd,¹⁹ commanding the post, who ordered Captain Williford to report to him at Fort Connor for duty, and furnished Colonel Godfrey with an escort to proceed to General Connor.

24th.—Very warm day. Travelled down the Dry fork, and camped on the east side of the river about one mile from Fort Connor. Plenty of water and wood at camp, but grass poor.

¹⁹ Col. James H. Kidd, 6th Mich. Cav.

25th.—Remained in camp to recruit our stock, and hear from General Connor. A party of Indians drove in the herders in the forenoon and stole one horse and killed two oxen. Colonel Godfrey returned today with an order from General Connor to Captain Williford to remain at Fort Connor with his infantry command, and to Colonel Kidd to furnish us with a cavalry escort to the Big Horn. Powder river is here about 150 feet wide by one foot deep, with sandy bottom; water in the stream is first rate. Fort Connor is well situated on a table-land on the west side of the stream.

26th.—It being twenty-six miles to Crazy Woman's fork, which was the next water on our route, we determined to make a night drive, as we were going over the route made by General Connor to Tongue river, and expected a fair road to travel over. We started at 4 p. m. and travelled till 11 p. m., when we corralled to rest the stock, and started again at 3 a. m. of the 27th, arrived at Crazy Woman's fork at 10 a. m. and corralled. The country over which we travelled was gently rolling, soil hard and easy to travel over, with a fair amount of gramma and bunch grass. The water in the creek is very fine and cool, coming directly from the mountains, and wood is plenty, but grass on the creek is poor this year. The creek is about sixty feet wide by one foot deep, with swift-running current over a rocky bed.

27th.—Started again at 3 p. m. and travelled twenty-three miles over a rolling country, and arrived at 9 a. m. of the 28th at the Clear fork of the Powder river, where we remained during the balance of the day. During the night we corralled about six hours for resting the teams. Grass, wood, and the purest water abundant; course during the last two days mostly northwest. General Connor having recently travelled over the country thus far, less work was required than would otherwise have been, but in many places grading was required at ravines, to enable the double wagons of the freight train to cross without uncoupling. Day pleasant, but quite warm.

29th.—Fine weather in the forenoon, but severe rain fell, and it was quite cold at night. Travelled sixteen miles and camped on a branch of Powder river leading into Piney

fork. Road rolling, but good to travel over most of the way. At noon we passed about one-half mile to the west of Father DeSmule's²⁰ lake, a fine sheet of water, about one mile long by half a mile wide. Our course during the day was parallel with the Big Horn mountains, at a distance of from five to eight miles of their base.

30th.—Crossed Piney fork and came over to a branch of Tongue river; country somewhat rolling, but good to travel over. The soil in the valleys is very good, with plenty of grass and wood. Scouts reported Indians ahead of us. This day we travelled about fifteen miles in a northwest course.

31st.—Travelled twenty-two miles in a course a little west of north, and camped at 5 p. m. on the middle branch of Tongue river; crossed two small streams and the south branch of Tongue river by good fords, which we made. The south branch is about one hundred feet wide by two feet deep, with very fine, clear, cold water, running swiftly over a gravelly bed. An abundance of fine grass grows in the bottoms of the streams. At night Captain Cole,²¹ of the 6th Michigan cavalry, a volunteer in the escort, was surrounded and killed by Indians while scouting in advance of the train. He was a young man of fine talents, brave, and genial in his manners, and was much lamented by the command; he had before lost an arm in the service of his country.

September 1st.—Fine day; travelled two and a half miles and crossed the north branch of Tongue river, when our rear guard was attacked by Indians after the train had crossed, and the loose cattle in the rear of the train stampeded, and over thirty were driven off by the enemy. The train attempted to proceed after crossing, but the surrounding bluffs soon became literally alive with Indians, well armed, and our escort of thirty-five men were insufficient to protect the train, and we were obliged to corral in the bottom. I endeavored to select a spot about equidistant from the river and the bluff to avoid shots from either side. While

²⁰ De Smet's.

²¹ Capt. Osmer F. Cole, Galesburg, Mich., of Co. L, 6th Mich. Cav.

corralling, James Dillelend, one of my best drivers, was shot and mortally wounded; also a driver of one of the emigrant teams, by name of Merrill,²² was mortally wounded, and died at night; several horses and cattle were wounded, some of them mortally. Firing was kept up on both sides throughout the day.

2d.—Some rain fell during the night, but the weather was fine and cool in the morning. Indians to the number of 250 to 300 came about, but keeping well out of range. The chiefs in the forenoon signified their wish for a treaty, by which means, I suppose, they wished to get something to eat and smoke. They said they were Arrapahoes, and that four days before General Connor had surprised them in camp and captured from them a large number of their ponies, burned their camp, and killed many of them. They wished to make peace to obtain, if possible, their ponies from General Connor, thinking, perhaps, that we might aid them. To peace, of course, we were agreed, as they greatly outnumbered us, and were well armed and mounted, and our cattle began to need water and grass. They agreed to send three of their number with three of our men to General Connor—they wishing for their ponies and we for more men; some of them meanwhile agreed to stay with us as hostages. This being agreed upon, we turned out our stock to graze.

3d.—Cold, windy morning; remained in camp. More Indians came to camp at night, but left soon after. They are the same party that were fed at Fort Halleck during last winter, but as soon as spring opened they stole all the horses and mules they could lay their hands upon, and left for this locality, supposing themselves entirely out of the reach of white men. Dillelend died today.

4th.—Cloudy and windy; some Indians came to camp and left again; they now seemed friendly, but a sharp lookout was kept up to prevent a surprise. Towards night the three Indians who started for General Connor's command returned, and said that many white men were coming to us, and declined to stay at camp. They seemed quite suspicious of more trouble.

²² E. G. Merrill, Cedar Falls, Iowa.

5th.—Captain Kellogg,²³ of the 6th Michigan cavalry, with twenty-seven men, came into camp at sunrise. This was the party the Indians had seen; they had been with mail to General Connor's command, and having been attacked came to our camp, not daring to go in so few numbers to Fort Connor. They reported that the men sent by us had gone to General Connor, who had gone far down on Tongue river.

6th.—Day fine. On the 3d we had buried Captain Cole on the north side of the corral, in a rifle-pit, and this day we buried Dillelend and Merrill in a rifle-pit on the south side of camp. Large numbers of buffaloes were seen during the day, and large wolves were very numerous, making the night hideous with their howlings.

7th, 8th, and 9th.—Remained in camp waiting for re-enforcements. Rain commenced to fall on the afternoon of the 7th, and fell without intermission till the night of the 9th. The mountains on the west of us were covered with snow, which came nearly down to the valley.

10th.—The mud got so deep in the corral that we could not move about, and we moved it to a new spot. Weather fine, and mud drying fast today.

11th.—Fine day; no news yet came from General Connor.

12th.—Fine day; some Indians came in sight towards night. As our present escort could not in any event go further than the Big Horn by their orders, a large majority of the men refused to proceed beyond that point without escort, (only twenty men of the command being willing so to do.) No re-enforcements appearing, I was constrained, to my great regret, to announce that on the morrow we would retreat to Fort Connor.

13th.—With heavy heart I moved the train back towards Fort Connor, supposing that the object of the expedition had failed to be reached; but just before our arrival at night to camp, the scouts in the rear announced the approach of horsemen, which, to my great joy, proved to be re-enforcements from General Connor, which had been prevented from

²³ Capt. James Kellogg, Grand Rapids, Mich., 6th Mich. Cav.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and development. It is a history of a people who have been able to adapt themselves to a changing world, and who have been able to maintain their principles in the face of adversity. It is a history of a people who have been able to build a great nation out of a small colony, and who have been able to maintain their principles in the face of adversity.

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before reaching us by the severe rains and swollen streams. They were company L, 2d California cavalry, and a company of Indian scouts, all commanded by Captain A. E. Brown,²⁴ of 2d California cavalry.

14th.—As the time of service of our Michigan troops had nearly expired, General Connor had ordered them back to be mustered out, and today they started for Fort Laramie. We remained in camp all day awaiting the arrival of Captain Brown's baggage train. Day very fine for the season. The grass, wood, and water in all this country is very good.

15th.—Fine day. Marched to the north branch of Tongue river, and corralled near the river at 4 p. m. A few Indians were discovered by our scouts on this river.

16th.—Travelled nineteen miles and camped on the Little Horn; crossed two small streams during the day, at which we made good fords. The country is very rolling, but hard and good to travel over; and the creek valleys are very fine land, with plenty of timber and grass and the purest water. Our course during the day was about northwest, and many buffaloes were seen.

17th.—Came thirteen miles on a northwest course and camped on a small creek leading into the Little Horn. Country very rolling, but the creek valleys are very fine; crossed during the day two small creeks, over which we made good fords.

18th.—Camped on a small creek at 3 p. m., after travelling sixteen miles over rolling country; day very warm. Much heavy grading was required to descend the bluff into the valley, but a further reconnoissance made, after arriving in the valley, showed a better place to descend the bluffs, which, however, will have to have considerable work done upon it before it can be travelled. The valley is about two to three miles wide, and has much fine grass in it, and considerable timber grows in the bends of the stream; immense herds of buffalo and large numbers of antelope range in every direction; white elk, deer, and bears abound and serve to render this country emphatically a hunter's paradise.

²⁴ Capt. Albert Brown, 2d California Cav.

The hunters, during this day's march, killed three bears and a large quantity of other game. No signs of hostile Indians were seen today.

19th.—Came six miles over good road-bed in the valley, and grading down the banks, forded the Big Horn river. This stream is about 400 feet wide, and in most places, at the time we were there, would swim a horse; but after repeated trials we found a place with only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water. All hands went at work with a will, and at 11 a. m. the teams were all crossed and corralled on the north side of the river. The current runs with great rapidity, and many men were carried some ways down the river by it, but all finally crossed safely. Captain Brown's orders not permitting him to go further than this place with us, as at this place we were considered nearly out of danger, he detailed Sergeant James Youcham, with seven men, to proceed with us to Virginia City, and afterwards to report to him at Salt Lake city, while the balance of his command returned with him to General Connor. Sergeant Youcham performed his duty in a very prompt and energetic manner during the balance of the expedition. To Captain Brown I wish to express my heartfelt thanks, and those also of the rest of the members of the expedition, for the safe and expeditious manner in which he escorted us through the Indian country. A better officer than himself, or better troops than those under his command, are not to be found in the service.

20th.—Fine day; many buffaloes in sight; crossed one creek by bridging and another by fording; travelled eighteen miles over a country requiring considerable grading in places to make it passable, and camped on a creek leading into the Big Horn. Grass, water, and wood poor at this camp.

21st.—Cool, cloudy day; came nineteen and a half miles over a fair-lying country, and camped on Pryor's fork at 6 p. m.; in two or three places much grading had to be done to render a passage safe for the double wagons of the freight train. Pryor's fork is about thirty feet wide by two feet deep, with good wood and grass upon its banks, and a swiftly-running current of pure water. Thousands of buffalo, elk, deer, and antelope were seen during the day.

22d.—Fine day; came eleven miles in a northerly direction, and camped on the Yellowstone river at 12 m. The last five miles of the road was very rough, and much grading was done to enable us to descend the bluff of the Yellowstone bottom, where we found, on arriving, plenty of wood, water, and grass.

23d.—Travelled up the Yellowstone eighteen miles; to the mouth of Clark's fork, where we corralled; grass, wood, and water good on the route. Fords were made across two small streams, and ravines were graded down in several places; plenty of game in sight all day; weather very fine.

24th.—Sunday; fine day; remained in camp all day.

25th.—Came southwest nineteen and a half miles, crossing Clark's fork, and camped on Rocky fork. Clark's fork is about one hundred and fifty feet wide at the crossing, by one and a half feet deep, with very swift current, and the water, at the time of our crossing, was quite muddy, probably from snow melting on the mountains, or from the immense herds of buffalo that were crossing above. From the point where we encamped, a reconnoissance made decided that we should have struck Pryor's fork more to the west, and thence west across the country, as water could be found on Clark's fork at convenient places for camping. My guide, whom I had hired on the Big Horn, was an old mountaineer, and pretended to know all about the country when I hired him, yet he could not tell, when at Pryor's fork, if water could be got on this cut-off or not, and I feared to try it so late in the season without being sure. Had I known at Pryor's fork what I learned at this camp, I should have come direct, and the road should be thus made, and thus avoid the Yellowstone bluffs to this place. I am satisfied that a saving of over twenty miles can be made by this cut-off.

26th.—Fine day; crossed Rocky fork to the south side, and travelled about four miles up the valley, over a beautiful level country, thence recrossed the stream and struck off westerly up Berdan's fork,* and camped on that stream, after travelling thirteen miles. Rocky fork is a beautiful stream, with considerable timber in the bends, and is about seventy-

* Now called Red Lodge Creek.

five feet wide by one and a half feet deep, with very swift-running current over rocky bed, and runs into Clark's fork below our camp of last night. Berdan's fork is smaller, and runs into Rocky fork from the west; we made good fords over these streams at the crossings.

27th.—Cool day, and windy; came fifteen miles westerly, and crossing several small streams, and the east fork of Rosebud river,²⁵ camped at 4 p. m. on the middle branch of the Rosebud; grass, water, and wood in abundance.

28th.—Cool, windy day, and frosty last night; travelled seventeen miles, crossing the middle and west forks of the Rosebud, and camped at night on the high prairie at 5:30 p. m.; country high, rolling, and good to travel over. The Rosebuds are fine streams, fifty and one hundred feet wide, respectively, by about two feet deep, running swiftly over rocky beds. These streams, as do all we have crossed since leaving Powder river, abound in trout and other fish of the finest quality. We appeared now to have left the buffalo range, though elk, deer, antelope, and bears are very numerous.

29th.—Travelled eighteen miles, and descending into the Yellowstone bottom camped at night on that stream; good country to travel over all day, and grass and wood abundant at camp. We met, today, a fleet of Mackinaw boats, descending the Yellowstone, loaded with persons coming from the Territory to the States, to the number of four or five hundred.²⁶

30th.—Day very pleasant; travelled seventeen miles up the Yellowstone bottom, and crossing Little Rocky, or Cross creek, camped at night half a mile from where we had decided to cross the Yellowstone. Cross creek flows in two channels, each about fifty feet wide by one and a half feet deep, running very swiftly over a rocky bottom; dug down the banks and made a good ford at the creek.

²⁵ This is the Stillwater River, an east branch bears the name of Rosebud Creek. Through error the river was identified as Boulder river in a footnote on page 188, Vol. I.

²⁶ The story of this expedition was told by J. Allen Hosmer in "A Trip to the States" which was reprinted in the July, 1936, SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL REVIEW.

October 1st.—Today being Sabbath, we remained in camp all day.

2d.—Came nineteen and a half miles up the Yellowstone; after crossing it and leaving the bottom, came over to "Twenty-five Yard" creek, where we camped at 5 p. m. Only one place could be found where the river is fordable, and that in an oblique direction up stream, making a ford at least fifty rods long. The water is about two and a half feet deep in the channel, and runs with great swiftness. The banks were dug down and well prepared for crossing, and the whole train crossed safely over in an hour without serious trouble.

3d.—Pleasant day. Ruleaw, our guide, whom we hired on the Big Horn, who pretended to know all about the country, got lost, and we were obliged to retrace our steps for three miles in one place; but notwithstanding this delay we made eleven miles in a southerly direction, and camped on a small creek leading into the Yellowstone just below the Canyon, distance from the camp to the river about two miles. Grass, wood, and water abundant.

4th.—Cloudy day, with a little rain. Came up the creek in a westerly direction, over the summit between the Yellowstone and Gallatin rivers, and camped in a beautiful park on the west side of the summit; grass and water abundant, and the mountains above us clothed with groves of pine, hemlock, and poplar timber. From our camp this morning a road had been travelled to Virginia City, which, however, needed much repairing to enable the double teams to cross in safety. Distance made this day thirteen miles.

5th.—Train came down to the Gallatin valley, and passing Bozeman City,²⁷ camped on a tributary of the Gallatin river, having travelled sixteen and a half miles. The Gallatin valley is broad, level, and presents a fine appearance, and when irrigated produces abundant crops, the yield of grain on the numerous farms in the valley being very large this season.

²⁷ Bozeman City.

6th.—Crossed the stream where we had camped, and also the Gallatin river, and coming fifteen miles, over the divide between the Gallatin and the Madison, camped at 3:30 p. m., on a tributary of the Madison. The Gallatin is a beautiful stream, one hundred feet wide by two and a half feet deep, with very swift current. Country during the day somewhat rolling, but easy to travel over.

7th.—Came to the Madison river, which we crossed by fording; the stream is one hundred and fifty feet wide by two feet deep, and runs very swiftly. After crossing, we travelled up the stream, and camped on a stream running into the Madison; grass, wood, and water good.

8th.—Sunday; remained in camp.

9th.—It rained hard all day, and we remained in corral. We were now in a section said to be one of the best in the Territory for quartz. Many very rich lodes have been discovered hereabouts.

10th.—Cloudy in the morning, but we yoked up and crossed the range between the Madison and Meadow creek, and camped on Meadow creek, having travelled ten miles through a severe rain-storm. In several places much grading had to be done to make the road passable for the double teams.

11th.—Came twelve miles up the Madison, in a south-westerly direction, and camped at the foot of the range on a small creek; passed several very good farms in the valley, and the mountain tops on either side were covered with snow.

12th.—Came over the range between the Madison and Jefferson rivers, and traveling eight miles came to Virginia City at 10 a. m. One of the very worst hills on the whole route is that leading to Virginia City.

It being too late in the season to return over and straighten up the road and complete the Omaha branch, as I had intended doing this season, I unloaded the supplies, stores and camp equipage, and drove the teams into camp on Stinkwater creek,²⁸ about eight miles from Virginia City, it being the nearest point that good water and pasturage

²⁸ Now called Ruby River.

could be obtained. From this time till the 24th I was engaged in paying off the men and putting the outfit in good repair, recruiting the cattle, &c, preparatory to selling them. I finally placed the whole outfit in the hands of a commission merchant, who, being better posted than I could possibly be, was enabled to sell to better advantage for the government. Leaving my wagon-master in charge to assist in selling and to receive the funds, I started for Sioux City, in company with my engineer and clerk, to report as soon as possible. After many vexatious delays I arrived at Sioux City on the 3d of December, thence came, by order, directly to Washington to report in person.

Appendix A, attached to this report, will show an itinerary of the route as prepared by Judge Smith, my engineer.

Appendix B will show the physician's report, made by Doctor Tingley.

I regret exceedingly that owing to the lateness of the season when we arrived, having been much detained by Indians and our first escort, we were unable to go back over the road and finish up the branch to Omaha City. In many places I now know that the road can be shortened and made much better by making cut-offs and different locations, and I think that the interests of the traveling public, and of the people of Montana, require that it should be thus worked and corrected up. I would recommend that an additional appropriation of, say, twenty thousand dollars (\$20,000) be made for that purpose; this, in addition to what is now on hand of the former appropriation, would be of great advantage in rendering the route a great thoroughfare, and the investment would be amply repaid by a route complete, by which much time and distance can be saved in transportation of freight and the travelling public between the States and the great gold-producing Territories of Montana and Idaho. The importance of having this route more fully developed, and kept open for travel by protection against Indians, can hardly be overestimated. It is at least six hundred miles nearer than the route which has hitherto been travelled by many—of Salt Lake—with

wood, water, and grass in abundance, and no mountain ranges of importance to cross, and upon the whole a first-rate route to travel over. If the route is protected against Indians, and some places on it relocated and marked in a more thorough manner, all travel to Montana and Idaho must necessarily pass over it, as by it much time and travel can be saved, and the route is much better than an equal number of miles on the west end of any of the routes hitherto travelled, and no alkaline water worth noticing was seen on the whole route, which fact is of great importance to persons engaged in freighting. By this route a stage may be run from the Missouri river to Virginia City in eight (8) days, whereas it now takes sixteen (16) days by the present stage route, when they run upon time.

In conclusion of this report, I desire to render my sincere thanks to my engineer and clerk, my wagon-master, my chief guide, Estes, and my scouts, Lieutenant Colonel J. F. Godfrey and Charles W. Sears. Without the hearty cooperation of these men, which I am proud to say I had at all times, the objects of the expedition could never have been accomplished; also I desire to thank Brigadier General P. E. Connor for the prompt manner in which he furnished us with re-enforcements, when in great peril, weakening his own force for that purpose.

Knowing the great national importance of the successful opening of this route, he, when surrounded by hostile Indians, generously and promptly sent to our aid more than one-third of his available force, and thus successfully passed us through the most hostile Indian country on the continent.

JAMES A. SAWYERS,

Superintendent and Disbursing Agent.

Hon. James Harlan,

Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

APPENDIX A

Itinerary of the Niobrara and Virginia City wagon road, prepared by Lewis H. Smith, engineer of the expedition commanded by Colonel J. A. Sawyer, being the actual odometer measurement.

Points on the road.	General course	Odometer measurement		Remarks
		Intermediate miles	Total miles	
From Niobrara to camp on the Niobrara.	SW.	4.5	6.9	Camp.
To crossing of Verdigris creek	S.W.	2.4	6.1	Do.
To crossing of Swamp creek	S.N.W.	6.1	13	Do.
To crossing of creek	W.	1.9	14.9	Do.
To crossing of Mauvais Terre creek	W.N.W.	6.5	21.4	Do.
To crossing of Louse creek	W.	7.6	29	Do.
To crossing of Big Coulter creek	W.	6.6	35.6	Do.
To crossing of Cottonwood creek	W.	9.7	45.3	Do.
To crossing of Mule creek	W.	4	49.3	Do.
To crossing of Little Platte creek	W.	14.5	63.8	Camp; crossed 3 small creeks during the day.
To crossing of Big Sandy creek	W.S.W.	4	67.8	Camp.
To crossing of Spring creek	W.	7	74.8	Do.
To crossing of Forked creek	S.S.W.	7.6	82.4	Do.
To crossing of Chip creek	W.S.W.	9.2	91.6	Do.
To the bank of Pine creek	SW.	14.2	105.8	Do.
To the bank of Niobrara river	NW.	5.4	111.2	Do.
To crossing of Lone Pine creek	W.S.W.	17.6	128.8	Do.
To crossing of Prairie creek	W.N.W.	11.7	140.5	Do.
To Bear creek	NW.	1.3	141.8	Do.
Crossing of Bear creek	W.	5.6	147.4	Do.
To crossing of Fossil creek	SW.	13	160.4	Do.
To crossing of Bogus Snake creek	W.	6.5	166.9	Camp on Niobrara, at mouth of creek.
To crossing of Snake river	S.S.W.	16.7	183.6	Camp.
To the bank of the Niobrara river	N.W.	8.7	192.3	Do.
Up the Niobrara river	W.	7.6	199.9	Do.
To crossing of Deep creek	W.S.W.	16.5	216.4	Do.

APPENDIX A—Continued

	General course	Odometer measurement		Remarks
		Intermediate miles	Total miles	
To the Niobrara river	W. NW.	12.1	228.5	Do. On camp between, on river.
Up to the Niobrara river	SW.	25	253.5	Camp.
Up the Niobrara to crossing	SW.	8	261.5	Do.
Up the Niobrara on north side	SW.	4	265.5	Do.
To Rush creek	SW.	15.7	281.2	Do.
Up Rush creek	W.	8	289.2	Do.
To creek leading to White river	W. NW.	14.1	303.3	Do.
To Spring ravine	N. NE.	14.4	317.7	Do.
To White river crossing	S. SW.	15.7	333.4	Do.
To crossing of Wet creek	W. NW.	9	342.4	Cross one small creek between.
To crossing of Dry Wood creek	N. NW.	15.7	358.1	Camp.
To branch of Holt creek	W.	20.2	378.3	Do.
To crossing of Holt creek	N. NW.	2.2	380.5	Do.
To crossing of Horsehead creek	W. SW.	15	395.5	Cross one small creek between.
To crossing of Sage creek	W. NW.	5.7	401.2	Camp.
To crossing of Rainy creek	NW.	9.4	410.6	Do.
To crossing of South Cheyenne creek	W. NW.	12.4	423	Do.
To Small creek	N.	1	424	Do.
Up the Dry Fork of the Cheyenne	Westerly	20	444	Do.
Do.do.	NW.	11.8	455.8	Do.
Do.do.	W. NW.	14.4	470.2	Do.
Up the Dry Fork of the Cheyenne	NW.	3.8	474	Camp.
To the branch of the North Cheyenne	NW.	17.2	491.2	Do.
To crossing of 2nd of North Cheyenne	W.	5.4	496.6	Do.
To crossing of 3d of North Cheyenne	N. NW.	9	505.6	Do.
Up the 3d of the North Cheyenne	W.	6.1	511.7	Do.
Do.do.	W. SW.	8.5	520.2	Do.
To the 4th of the North Cheyenne	South	11.7	531.9	Do.

Points on the road.

APPENDIX A—Continued

Points on the road.	General course	Odometer measurement		Remarks
		Intermediate miles	Total miles	
Up the 4th of the North Cheyenne	W.	5.7	737.6	Do.
Do.	SW.	10	547.6	Camp 6 miles east of the buttes.
To gap in Pumpkin buttes	SW.	12	559.6	Camp.
To Dry Fork of Powder river	W. NW.	15.2	574.8	Camp opposite Connor.
Down the Dry Fork to Fort Connor	NW.	14.1	588.9	Camp.
To Crazy Woman's Fork of Powder river	N. NW.	26.3	615.3	Do.
To Clear Fork of Powder river	N. NW.	23.1	638.3	Do.
To branch of Clear Fork of Powder river	W. NW.	1.8	640.1	Do.
To branch of Piney Fork of Powder river	N. NW.	14.1	654.2	Cross 3 small creeks between.
To crossing of Piney Fork of Powder river	N. NW.	1.1	655.3	Camp.
To creek leading to Tongue river	N. NW.	15.2	670.5	Cross 4 small creeks between.
To crossing of south branch of Tongue river	W. NW.	16.4	686.9	Cross 2 creeks between.
To crossing of north branch of Tongue river	W. NW.	12.4	693.3	Camp.
To crossing of branch of Little Horn river	NW.	2.2	695.5	Do.
To crossing of Little Horn river	W. NW.	15.6	711.1	Cross 2 small streams between.
To crossing of branch of Little Horn river	NW.	4.8	715.9	Cross small stream between; camp.
To crossing of branch of Big Horn river	NW.	8.2	724.1	Cross 3 small streams between.
Do.	NW.	11.3	735.4	Camp.
To crossing of Big Horn river	N. NW.	6.9	743.2	Cross 2 small streams between.
To crossing of Pryor's Fork of Yellowstone	N. NE.	6.8	749.1	Camp.
To Yellowstone river	N. NW.	19.1	768.2	Do.
Up the Yellowstone river	N. NW.	19.5	787.7	Do.
To crossing of Clark's Fork of Yellowstone	W. SW.	10.9	798.6	Do.
To crossing of Rocky Fork of Yellowstone	W. SW.	17.6	816.2	Do.
To 2d crossing of Rocky Fork of Yellowstone	S. SW.	3.5	819.7	Do.
Do.	S. SW.	17.9	837.6	Do.
To 2d crossing of Rocky Fork of Yellowstone	SW.	5.2	842.8	Do.

APPENDIX A--Continued

Points on the road.	General course	Odometer measurement		Remarks
		Intermediate miles	Total miles	
To crossing of Berdan's Fork of Yellowstone.	W. SW.	6.3	849.1	Do.
To crossing of East Fork of Rosebud river.	W. SW.	14.1	863.2	Do.
To crossing of Middle Fork of Rosebud river.	W.	1.3	864.5	Do.
To crossing of West Fork of Rosebud river.	W.	8.1	872.6	Cross 2 creeks between.
To camp on prairie.	NW.	11.1	883.7	Camp.
To Yellowstone river.	NW.	17.6	901.3	Do.
To crossing of Little Rocky creek.	SW.	5.4	906.7	Do.
Up the Yellowstone river.	SW.	11.3	918.2	Do.
To Yellowstone crossing.	SW.	.9	919.1	Do.
To Hot creek.	SW.	2.4	921.5	Do.
To crossing of "25-yard" creek.	W. SW.	16.3	937.8	Do.
To crossing of Canyon creek.	S.	10.8	948.6	Do.
To crossing of summit of range.	W. SW.	10.2	958.8	Do.
To crossing of Summit creek.	SW.	2.9	961.7	Do.
To crossing of East Gallatin creek.	W.	7.1	968.8	Do.
To crossing of Boscman creek.	W. SW.	3.1	971.9	Do.
To crossing of branch of Gallatin river.	W. SW.	6.4	978.3	Do.
To crossing of Gallatin river.	SW.	12.3	992.6	Do.
To crossing of branch of Madison river.	W.	5.8	998.4	Do.
To crossing of Madison river.	W.	10.2	1,008.6	Do.
To crossing of branch of Madison river.	S. SW.	5	1,013.6	Do.
To crossing of summit of range.	SW.	5.4	1,019.0	Do.
To crossing of Meadow creek.	S.	8.7	1,027.7	Do.
To crossing of Small creek.	S.	3.7	1,031.4	Do.
To camp at foot of range.	S.	8.3	1,039.7	Do.
To Virginia City.	W. SW.			Do.

Total distance to Virginia City, odometer measurement, is 1,039 and 7-10 miles.

APPENDIX B.

Dr. Tingley's Report.

SIR: In compliance with your request, that a report be made of the cases requiring medical treatment that came under my care in your wagon road expedition, I submit the following: The expedition which left the Niobrara on the 13th of June consisted of about sixty-five workmen and emigrants, escorted by two companies of the 5th United States volunteer infantry, the latter being under charge of Assistant Surgeon Smith, of that regiment. At about the time the expedition started one of the men was taken sick of measles, and notwithstanding the unfavorable condition in which he was placed, the disease ran its usual course and terminated in a complete recovery. On the first of September, in a fight with Indians on the north branch of Tongue river, James Dillelend was mortally wounded; the ball entered from behind, about two inches to the left of the last lumbar vertebrae, and came out in front about two inches below the umbilicus; he died on the following day, having survived the wound about twenty-four hours.

About the same time E. G. Merrill, who formerly resided near Cedar Falls, Iowa, was shot. The ball entered the left side, near the anterior extremity of the eighth rib, and lodged beneath the skin at a point nearly opposite, on the right side. The ball passed through sufficiently deep to wound both the stomach and liver, and the patient died in a few hours from internal hemorrhage; while lying at this camp, a soldier, by the name of Hayes,²⁹ belonging to the 6th Michigan cavalry, was taken sick of typhoid pneumonia, and died on the 13th of September. This was the only death from disease that occurred among all those connected with the expedition.

There were among the escort some old and very obstinate cases of chronic diarrhoea, which were under my charge while they remained with us.

²⁹ William O. Hayes.

The escort that reached us on the 13th of September brought to me two cases of chronic pulmonary disease, and one of intermittent fever, which had been much aggravated by their exposure to the cold rain a few days preceding.

There was also among them an Indian, whose forearm had been badly lacerated in a combat with a bear. All of these cases were doing well when the escort left us, a few days afterward, on the Big Horn. The following list will include all the more important cases:

Measles, 1; syphilis, 2; bilious fever, 1; intermittent fever, 1; typhoid pneumonia, 1; chronic bronchitis, 2; ophthalmia, 3; tonsillitis, 3; diarrhoea, 2.

Diarrhoea, was very common during the whole trip, but in only two or three cases did it amount to anything serious.

There was also in many cases a tendency to scorbutic disease, shown chiefly by soreness of the mouth, with bleeding and spongy gums. All of these cases, however, yielded readily to treatment, and no well-developed case of scurvy occurred.

Cases of poisoning from wild ivy were common during the early part of the trip.

Yours, respectfully,

Colonel J. A. Sawyers.

D. W. TINGLEY, M.D.

REPORT OF CAPT. GEORGE W. WILLIFORD, FIFTH U. S. VOLUNTEER INFANTRY¹

Fort Connor, Dak. Ter., August 29, 1865.

SIR: I have the honor to report that in compliance with orders dated headquarters Department of the Missouri, April 21, 1865, Companies C and D, Fifth U. S. Volunteers, embarked on steamer J. H. Lacy and proceeded to the mouth of Niobrara River for the purpose of escorting a party of engineers opening a wagon road from that point westward. On the 13th of June, everything being in readiness, we started, marching from ten to fifteen miles each day. On the 16th we were joined by Lieutenant [John R.] Wood and twenty-four men belonging to Company B, First Dakota Cavalry Volunteers, having been ordered to report to me, and who did good service during the march, scouting on our flanks and searching for good camping ground. When within twenty miles of Powder River it was ascertained by our guide to be impossible to advance farther in the direction we now were going, the roughness of the country precluding such an idea; consequently we retraced our steps. On the second day of our retreat we were attacked by several thousand Indian warriors, who kept us corralled nearly four days and nights, fighting through the day; and at night the enemy would withdraw to commence hostilities again at early dawn, but finding every effort to capture our train and massacre its defenders only resulted in their loss of many killed and wounded braves, they abandoned the siege and left us to pursue our journey to a point sixty miles farther south, where we struck General Connor's trail on the 22d instant, and encamped. On the 23d our command was found to be only fifteen miles from Fort Connor, and received orders from General Connor to report with the detachment to that post for duty. The order relieving me ordered Colonel Kidd, of the Sixth Michigan Cavalry, to furnish a suitable escort for the engineer party. In the engagement with Indians I have to report the following named men of my command killed: Orlando Sous* and Anthony Nelson, privates Company B, First Dakota Cavalry Volunteers; Nathaniel D. Hedges, citizen, and sutler for the expedition. Only a few were wounded, and those slightly.

I am, captain, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
GEO. W. WILLIFORD,

Captain, Fifth U. S. Volunteers, Commanding Detachment.
CAPT. GEORGE F. PRICE,

Actg. Asst. Adj. Gen., Hdqrs. Dist. of the Plains,
Fort Laramie, Dak. Ter.

¹ Official Records, War of the Rebellion, Series I, Volume XLVIII, Part I, pp. 388-89.

*Appears on muster-rolls as John Rouse. See Footnote No. 15.

Holman's account mentions a change in leadership in early September which is not referred to by Sawyers. Holman states, "We were wrought up to a high pitch of excitement for this was a critical time and we felt that we must do something to prevent total annihilation. Some suggested a change of leaders. It was quickly put to a vote and a new leaders was chosen. . . .

"Since we had acted so impulsively in electing a new commander, it was suggested by Col. Sawyers that another vote be taken, and so the men were told to step on either side of an imaginary line, but the verdict was the same as before."

James A. Sawyers was born in Tennessee, Dec. 16, 1824. He served in the Mexican War with Co. E, 1st Tenn. Cavalry. He enlisted in the Sioux City Company of Volunteer Cavalry in September, 1861, for service in the War of the Rebellion. Due to the danger from the Indians the company was retained at home for frontier protection. Mr. Sawyers was elected as first lieutenant of the Sioux City Company. Upon the creation of Northern Border Brigade, Iowa State Militia, a company was recruited from the Sioux City region. On Nov. 7, 1862, Sawyers was elected Lieutenant Colonel of the Brigade and served until the Brigade was disbanded in Sept.. 1863. While not in military service during the wagon road expeditions, he retained the title of "Colonel" by common accord. Mr. Sawyers died in California on March 7, 1898; burial was made in Sioux City, on April 3, following.

What's in a name? The references to the leader of the expedition are about evenly divided between "Sawyer" and "Sawyers." We have concluded that "Sawyers" is correct.

Mr. W. S. Gilman, Sioux City, has supplied information to prove that "Sawyers" is the correct form. The original grant of land from the United States Government was to James A. Sawyers. This form is so given in the various legal papers on file in Woodbury County. The Sioux City Directory for 1871 contained the name with the final "s". The Adjutant General of Iowa, Des Moines, states that the military records of his office give the name as stated by Mr. Gilman.

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18th BIENNIAL MEETING

The Society held its 18th Biennial Meeting on January 20, 1937, as provided by law. John T. Milek, president of the Society, gave a masterful address on historic trends. An excellent paper on "Preacher" Henry Weston Smith was read by Rev. C. D. Bullock. Hon. Sioux K. Grigsby, Minnehaha County Historical Society, Hon. John J. Gering, Turner County Historical Society, and Mr. M. E. Risinger, Beadle County Historical Society, spoke briefly on the work of their groups. The Secretary read a report from the Northern South Dakota Historical Society, Aberdeen. L. M. Simons, Belle Fourche, W. C. Allen, Aberdeen, and Frederick A. Warren, Pierre, were elected to the Executive Committee for six year terms; Dr. R. A. Burnside, Des Moines, Ia., was chosen to fill a term expiring in 1939.

MEMBERSHIP NECROLOGY

Charles A. Alseth, Lake Preston; W. C. Bidleman, Wessington Springs; James M. Brown, Aberdeen; W. M. Cheever, Brookings; L. F. Crawford, Minneapolis, Minn.; Charles E. DeLand, Pierre; Samuel H. Elrod, Clark; Peter Frederiksen, Howard; L. E. Gaffy, Pierre; Maurice Moriarty, Wilton Junction, Ia.; M. W. Murphy, Fargo, N. Dak.; Peter Norbeck, Redfield; E. C. Perisho, Ipswich; W. H. Powers, Brookings; W. E. Rossman, Highmore; A. H. Seymour, Aberdeen; A. L. Van Osdel, Mission Hill.

TRUTH IN LOCAL HISTORY

Local history, too often lightly regarded as a subject for serious consideration, has lately been made the object of intensive study. In some communities there appears to be a tendency to twist facts to gain greater exploitation. The general idea is that the true facts must not be allowed to spoil a good story. At first such an attitude may seem smart but TIME is certain to bring a hurtful reaction. If local history is worth anything it merits truthful treatment. It may not be possible to avoid honest errors but dishonest errors can be eliminated.

SOUTH DAKOTA BUFFALOES VERSUS MEXICAN BULLS

By George Philip

Editor's Note—

We are privileged to present a second article from the pen of George Philip. While written in a lighter vein than the story of the life of his uncle, James "Scotty" Philip, it maintains the high standard of his original style.

The manuscript of this article was not prepared with the thought of publication. Mr. Philip, wearied at reading a succession of fanciful stories of the incident herein related, decided he owed it to his children to write an account of this youthful experience. The Editor learned of the manuscript and finally gained the author's reluctant consent to print it.

During the winter of 1906-07 in that typical western cow town on the west bank of the Missouri River, Fort Pierrê, no end of excitement was generated among the sporting fraternity. Bob Yokum, a former Texan, who had been transplanted in South Dakota, and who operated saloons in Pierre and Fort Pierre, seemed to be the motivating impulse. His nephew, Billy Harrell, also a Texan, who worked for Bob, added to the ferment. Both of them were well acquainted with Tom Powers and Billy Amonett, who were the famous proprietors of the still more famous Coney Island saloon in El Paso. Also, they were well acquainted with Felix Robert, himself a matador, who managed the bull ring at Juarez, on the South side of the Rio Grande, across from El Paso.

Some years before there had been enclosed on the Scotty Philip ranch up the Missouri River from Fort Pierre, under an unusually strong fence surrounding thousands of acres, a herd of native American buffalo. These buffalo, or bison, were about as nearly in their natural state as the presence of any kind of fence anywhere would permit one to imagine.

As local pride always plays an important part in formulating local views, the people of Fort Pierre had come to believe that a self sufficient buffalo bull could whip any animal that would care to match up with him. But local pride was not indigenous to Fort Pierre alone—it likewise flourished in Juarez, the city whose namesake was the full-blood Indian lawyer, who was President of Mexico both before and after Maximilian's unfortunate aspirations to royalty. Those

southern neighbors could not believe that the fighting bulls, whose aggressive fierceness they saw exhibited in the bull ring at Juarez each succeeding Sunday, could be conquered by anything but the tinsel bedecked man with the sword.

It was a natural enough development of the argument as to the fighting merits of the native buffalo and the Mexican fighting bull, in the frontier town of Fort Pierre, where "I'll bet you" was then no idle phrase, that efforts should be made to end the discussion by a definite test that would decide the bets. Thus it came about that all the arrangements were decided upon to take two of the buffalo bulls from the Scotty Philip herd by rail to Juarez to test their fitness to survive against the bulls of Mexico's choice.

Although the Mexicans may have been able to make their choice of animals for the contest, it was a vastly more difficult task for the northern cowboys to choose their champions. After herculean efforts, such as men of the open range alone know how to make, two buffalo bulls, one about eight years old and the other about four, were corralled, crated and hauled on sleds over the snow to Fort Pierre, and then across the Missouri River on the ice to the stockyards at Pierre, then the railroad terminus for the cow country, the range. There a box car was fortified and prepared to convey the heroes of Fort Pierre's hopes to the chosen battleground in Mexico. And let not the fact that the box car was fortified and prepared for their captivity be too lightly considered, for the hind legs of a buffalo can teach tricks in kicking to an army mule that before then were beyond the frontiers of his dreams. The heavy extra planking on the interior sides and ends of the box cars was no idle gesture, as each end of the car was equipped to house a monarch of the plains, barred off with heavy planking in such fashion that the full width between the side doors was left free to furnish space for the baled hay, and equipment for watering, to furnish food and drink for the buffaloes on the long railroad trek from South Dakota's snows to Mexico's sunshine.

And now arose the question as to what manner of men should accompany them. At first it was intended that the

men to go were Scotty Philip, who had devoted much time, effort and money to save the bison from extinction; Bob Yokum whose efforts materialized the sporting event; and Eb Jones, a cowman then about forty, who had spent his entire life on the range, and whose mental and physical sturdiness endowed him with a splendid fitness to survive in the life of the wide open spaces. Scotty, who was not devoid of the instincts of the race which invented golf and gave it to the rest of the world so that it would not attend to business, decided that his buffalo bulls were worth three hundred dollars each, and the venture was divided one half to Bob Yokum, and one fourth each to Eb Jones and Scotty. As the time for departure arrived a serious blizzard broke, and Scotty decided that his extensive cattle interests demanded his presence at home. His nephew, George, who had previously been a rider on the range, but who had graduated from the law school of the University of Michigan at Ann Harbor the preceding June, and was then engaged in the more or less hazardous occupation of starting a law practice at Fort Pierre, was not so busy that he could not accept Scotty's proposal to take his interest in the venture off his hands, so he became the third adventurer. As the freight train pulled out of Pierre, South Dakota, on that day in January, 1907, in one of those blizzards which are meteorological milestones in that state, the warmth of the stove in the caboose was shared by the trainmen with Bob Yokum, Eb Jones and George Philip. Much water has gone over the dam for those men as they now reflect in their respective homes—Bob Yokum in Kirby, Wyoming; Eb Jones on his ranch at Cherry Creek, South Dakota; and George Philip in his home at Rapid City, South Dakota, the city where Calvin Coolidge established his Black Hills Summer White House in 1927. Then they thought no farther into the future than the Sunday just a week ahead, as they contemplated the contest then to take place in the bull ring at Juarez.

As with the man who had gone to a distant city and there became unfortunately involved in a poker game, and who could not sleep any of the way home because of the

unending monotony with which the car wheels and the rail joints clattered out their reminding song of "Jacks and sixes, jacks and sixes," so these men suffered the monotony of the present, tintured and enlivened by the exciting hopes of next week. At Sioux City, Iowa, the buffaloes were fed and watered in their well planked private compartments, while waiting for the train to Omaha. The lively curious came in numbers to see real buffaloes that weighed each a ton. They came, looking sceptical of the story which had brought them there, and, as they turned to leave, each seemed to echo the sentiments of the intoxicated gentleman who looked long and earnestly at a beautiful salmon displayed on ice in the window of a sporting goods store, and, as he turned away with drunken solemnity, muttered, "Well, the fellow who caught that fish is a damn liar."

But the railroad trip was not all monotony. Nothing is. Bob Yokum decided at Sioux City that he should speed on to El Paso and Juarez, there to make the necessary arrangements for crossing the international boundary with buffaloes, and to do whatever else was required to make success easier. Never having been there before, his two companions did not until afterwards suspect that perhaps the hospitable splendor of the Coney Island saloon, and the splendid hospitality of Tom Powers and Billy Amonett, as compared with the rugged individualism of a freight caboose, may have played no small part in Bob's decision. Be that as it may, Bob rode the cushions from there to El Paso.

With storms and Sioux City left behind, the next objective was Omaha, and on arrival in the railroad yards of that city at two o'clock in the morning the two remaining buffalo attendants sought some rest at a hotel in the brief time between then and 6:30 in the morning, at which hour they were to leave Omaha on a Rock Island freight train. Perhaps to show them that clouds are not clouds clear through, when the train was all ready to leave, the buffalo car was not in the train, and could not be located. Fretting at the delay, and engaging in the then national pastime of cursing the railroad octopus, they joined in the almost

frantic search for the car, with the result that it was located on a sidetrack about ten miles out, where it had been left by another train crew which had discovered its mistake.

Joining up with the next freight train out, the car was picked up and made a part of the train. Having their buffaloes once more safely in hand served as a signal for rest, and down they laid on the none too downy cushions of a Rock Island caboose. After moving along for sometime and some miles, they were awakened by a trainman who said, "Say, would you fellers like to see the caboose you should have left Omaha in this morning? If you do, look out on the left side of the train when we get to the next curve." Having nothing else that required much doing at that time, they followed the trainman's instructions, and there in the right of way, smashed to kindling, lay the caboose, the victim of a rear end collision. That made it a little easier to become philosophical over the delay.

The rail ribbon unwound its miles until arrival at McPherson, Kansas, then a place of much railroad and few people. A thirty-six hour delay, to this day unexplained, at that railroad crossing drove out most of their philosophy. A pool hall offered the only form of entertainment, but, as neither of them had even a semblance of skill with the cue, the pool hall man reaped little profit, for it seemed that they could play for hours on a ten cent game of rotation pool. Time moved on, but seemed to get nowhere. Trains passing through did not pick up the buffalo car. It should not be forgotten that Kansas was then away from the days of Wyatt Earp, Bob Masterson and Wild Bill, and was exhibiting another form of complex which we may well enough call carrienationitis, and that state was as dry as a dehydrated bugle blast. As time went on the younger of the amateur pool players more and more suspected that somewhere in that area of constitutional and statutory aridity there was beer. Prompted more by curiosity than by appetite (for Bob's emporiums at Pierre and Fort Pierre had furnished all their grips with plenty of bottled in bond, which was still in the original packages) the suspicion developed into a search. "Seek and ye shall find" is merely an older version

of the maxim that "Equity aids the vigilant." The younger man happened to be wearing at the time a watch charm in the form of a double headed eagle, and the pool hall man mistook it for the emblem of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, then a very popular secret order among the sporting fraternity. Although neither belonged to the order of the other, a few mysterious passes were indulged and the pool hall man became convinced that he and his visitors were tied together in an oathbound brotherhood. He probably thinks so yet. When fraternity was definitely established to the satisfaction of the Kansan, and he had told in graphic detail about a state meeting of the order held at Lawrence the preceding Wednesday, where potables were in quantity, the South Dakotan ventured a question as to whether the town of McPherson was as dry as the statutes which governed it. A mysterious look toward the elder man who was still at the pool table, more or less vainly trying to get the balls in the pockets, and a whispered, "Who is that other fellow?" seemed to establish a prima facie case that beer was obtainable. On being assured that, although he did not belong to the brotherhood, he was absolutely in accord with some of its principles, and entitled to trust otherwise, an invitation was extended to follow him. A faithful and fruitful leader he turned out to be, for in the part of his domain where they came to rest were cases of beer stacked to the ceiling. Beer, real beer, in quantity and in Kansas: Once more philosophy reigned in the bosoms of the buffalo men.

But as all good things must come to an end, so this pleasant association was terminated by a train that came along and picked up the buffalo car. On and on they bumped to and through Liberal and into the flattest part of the earth's surface toward Dalhart, Texas. Here occurred an adventure, born of ignorance and folly, that did not end disastrously. In that stretch, as elsewhere along the way, the presence of the buffaloes on the train excited no end of curiosity, and every stop produced its crop of visitors. As proof of the eternal fact that the world is none too large for those who genuinely seek to become acquainted, the conductor informed his two passengers that he had seen a very

large herd of buffalo during a visit he had made to see his brother-in-law in South Dakota during the preceding summer. Well, who was the brother-in-law? Walter Roush of Fort Pierre. Sure, everybody knew him, and thus was established the bonds of mutual acquaintanceship. This reminded the South Dakotans of what they had in their grips, and, although the conductor refused to mingle sociability with professional service, the others did not seem so particular. At a point where some switching was being done, while Eb lay asleep in the caboose the younger man got out to "stretch his legs." The engineer, whose great physical person fitted well with the size of the monstrous engine he was driving, motioned his fellow traveller and asked him if he had ever ridden on a locomotive. The negative answer seemed to provoke the further question whether he would like to do so. The enthusiastic affirmative showed that here was considered to be an end to, or at least a break in, the monotony, for, as the darky porter said, "A railroad ride across the plains can be most monotonous." Before there was time to crawl up on the engine, the inviting host said, "It looks like you fellows are pretty stingy." "How's that?" "You've got some liquor back there. It looks like you'd give the engineer a nip." "Sure." Then came the hurried trip back to the caboose, and the return with a bottle of whiskey. There was a simultaneous pulling out of the train and the cork. That engineer seemed to have an excessive thirst, and gave evidence of his belief that an individual quart was required to allay it. The spirits of the engineer went up as those in the bottle went down. He got his young friend over from the fireman's side to sit with him, there to receive instructions on the mechanism and operation of a locomotive engine, and to listen to vile songs sung to the accompaniment of the toot-toot-toot of the whistle. This highly instructive and entertaining program was suddenly interrupted by the appearance of the conductor running furiously forward on the top of the train, over the coal in the tender and into the engine. An immediate and forceful argument occurred between the Goliath at the throttle and the David from the caboose. When David tried to forcibly

take the throttle away from Goliath he landed sitting in the coal. About this time South Dakota's somewhat perturbed and conscience stricken representative concluded that this must be a private discussion between the inner family members of the Rock Island, and withdrew as a matter of courtesy and tact to the fireman's side. Each time the conductor was knocked away from the throttle that enthusiastic engineer "gave her another notch" for the good of the service. A look through the fireman's window gave the Northern an idea of what the fuss was all about, for there in the far distance, squarely between the rails, rose a stream of smoke, and that engineer seemed to be able to do everything with his engine, except to stop it. Places intended as stops seemed to flit by in a fog—a real case of "that is a pretty little town, wasn't it?" The visitor in the fireman's seat then looked back to see what if any emotions were being kindled along the train. There on the lowest step of the engine hung the fireman, ready to jump. Half-way back along the train hung a brakeman in an unusual state of expectancy, while on the lowest step of the caboose was the other brakeman, apparently feeling about the same. These visions of flight inspired no phenomenal enthusiasm in the mind of him who was taking his first ride on an engine. An engineer and conductor still fighting for the throttle of a runaway engine, that now seemed as intoxicated as its master, a long heavy train behind with the crew all ready to go, Eb asleep in the caboose, the guest on the engine imprisoned on a monstrous thing from which he could scarcely escape when in repose, and not at all when in motion, and the Golden State Limited in front, combined into a situation that caused him to close his eyes and wish himself back in South Dakota. It was not a situation calculated to evoke any worthwhile enthusiasm at the moment. Fortunately the engineer on the Golden State Limited had had no such purveyors of immodest courage visit him, and his discretion put him and his train on a sidetrack—not the first occasion of a train giving buffaloes the right of way. The yell of profane defiance from the engineer of the freight train as it swished past the crack passenger train in repose

on the sidetrack foretold a visit to the carpet and perhaps back to the farm. But the taming influence of hunger came into play, and the strong man of the rails bowed before it and stopped at a town that had a restaurant to suit him. As the South Dakotan crawled down from his post of complexity, he was heard to mutter, "Well, thank God, I can tell I have had a ride on an engine." To give away, to be generous, may be an admirable qualification, but it is not without its limits. Succeeding incidents were so insignificant in comparison with the engine ride (and there was but one such) that nothing more happened until they drifted into El Paso in the very early hours of Sunday.

As a fight had been scheduled and advertised for the afternoon of that day, reasonably prompt contact was made with Bob Yokum and Charlie Burney, the El Paso superintendent of the Mexican Central Railroad. That contact established the fact that no arrangements had been made to get the buffalo car over the border, nor had authority been received from the customs officials, who seemed to swallow hard on the law of the case. That required a trip to the customs authorities, where it was necessary to strongly assert and plausibly maintain that to take a pair of buffaloes over the line and then bring them back should mean little in the young life of an officer of the customs. Whether the theory was sound, or whether the officer wanted to see the fight, has never been entirely clear. At any rate, such was the decision, and no appeal was taken, so it became final. With the legal handicaps smoothed out the remaining thing to be done was to arrange for the physical transportation of the car across the Rio Grande, from El Paso to Juarez, from the United States into Mexico. In Juarez the first contact of consequence was with the yard master, but with such English as was at their command, and no Spanish at all, the men from the North could not make themselves understood. From man to man, up the ladder of officialdom, until the lord high executioner, or whatever he is in Juarez, was reached,—a handsome man, wonderfully groomed. He could neither understand nor speak English. An angry fist landed on his desk, and a demand followed for some one who could

talk United States. The Spaniard's eye lit up when he observed a ring, and, with a smile, he said, "Where do you belong to the Consistory, brother?" The answer came, "At Yankton, South Dakota, but what the hell has that got to do with getting a couple of buffaloes across the line?" He seemed to think it had something to do with it, and he introduced himself to the three South Dakotans. He pushed a desk bell, and the underling who answered was told to have Monte come in. Almost immediately Monte was in, the yard-master, who seemed to have had an amazing education in English in the intervening few minutes. The introductions with Monte completed, he showed his South Dakota brother his Scottish Rite ring from which he had lost the diamond that morning in the yards. A few hasty commiserations expressed, and Monte, with his new friends, mounted an engine, with a thoroughly sober engineer, scurried over to El Paso, and in almost nothing flat the buffalo car was spotted at the unloading chute to the bull ring. Felix Robert and a host of toreadors of varying ranks were promptly on hand to inspect the new aspirants for butchery in the bull ring.

Shortly succeeding the noon-day meal came the crowd to the arena to witness a scene similar to that so graphically and forcefully described by Ernest Hemingway twenty-five years later in his "Death in the Afternoon." A motley crew was the audience that filed into the amphitheater of that arena. Mexicans, from princedom to peonage, mingled with the residents from across the river, and tourists galore, for that afternoon there were to be four regular bull fights, and then a Mexican fighting bull was to compete for honors with a peace loving buffalo. The South Dakotans and the management of the bull ring were to divide the gate receipts equally,—half to the Mexicans and half to the gringos.

To the South Dakotans, except Bob Yokum, the business of bull fighting was something read about, but never before witnessed. A bloody, cruel sport it was considered to be. Nothing was known of the technique of the game, nor of the efforts that had been made through generations of participation in it by enthusiastic devotees to make it an equal contest, or nearly so, between man and beast. The

rules are modeled on the habits of the bull, and haphazard or easy killing is not permitted. The man knows the rules and must not violate them, but there are no such restrictions on the bull. Although it may not be a sport suited to the Anglo-Saxon turn of mind, it presents a romantic and thrilling spectacle, from which brutality has been largely removed except in relation to the horses. The president of the bull fight, usually some high official honored for the day, occupies the presidential box with his guests. Then comes the parade in the bull ring, with the matadors, the men who kill, leading, followed by their banderilleros and then their picadors in the order of seniority, all decked out in the tinsel-trappings of the bull ring, which look gorgeous and romantic at a distance. After the parade is over and salutes are given to and acknowledged by the president, the cavalcade disperses to seemingly appointed places about the ring. Then the first bull, chosen by lot, is admitted to the ring. As he enters the arched gateway leading from the corrals to the ring his first experience is to have a small, barbed dart, with a small bright flag, stuck into his withers. Being about in the same relation to the usual run of cattle that the wolf is to the dog, the fighting bull seems none too pleased over this initial affront to his dignity. The angered animal is skillfully lead to conduct his offense against a picador, a bull fighter mounted on a crow-bait pony, his right leg, which is the one he must keep toward the bull, encased in armor, and armed with a long lance, called a pic. With the pic he is expected to withstand the charging attacks of the bull, and keep him away from the horse. He rarely succeeds in doing so throughout, and quite usually the horse is fearfully gored, and sometimes thrown, a jumbled mass of bull and horse and picador. Then comes in the skillful work with the capes to get the bull away from the unhorsed picador, nearly always successful. When the rules relating to attacks on the picador have been complied with, the banderilleros come into play. They must first play the bull with the capes and then place the banderillas, vari-colored, gorgeously wrapped wooden shafts, about three feet in length, with a heavily barbed point. They are placed two

at a time in the withers, or shoulder tops, of the charging bull by the banderillero who stands squarely in front of him. It is no place for a timid, a cross-eyed, or a clubfooted man. Three sets of banderillas are placed in the bull, and by this time he is mad enough to make the acquaintance of the matador, who takes charge at this stage. After working the bull with the cape, and so close that it seems impossible to escape those dreadful horns, he places his bull and gets his sword. Then, with the muleta, a small triangular flag on a stick, he plays the bull into a required number of charges, after which, with the bull charging directly at him, and not otherwise, he delivers the thrust. If successful, the bull collapses in his tracks, instantly dead. Up to that moment he has had no right to hurt the bull, although the bull has had full opportunity to do any manner of harm within his power to his annoyers, and no one can justly question the enthusiasm with which he sets out to do that harm. If the bull is unsuccessful he is scientifically and almost painlessly killed. If the bull is successful, a picador, a banderillero, or a matador goes to the hospital or the morgue. Although the game is to kill the bull skillfully and strictly within the rules, it is anything but a one sided game.

On the Sunday in question four bull fights were held, one closely following the other. The temperamental crowd would cheer for the bull, or for the man, depending altogether on which seemed to be the winner at the moment. With varying fortunes, some minor injuries to men and serious ones to horses those four bulls met "death in the afternoon" in the Juarez bull ring.

About then the crowd began shouting its scepticism about the appearance of the Northern contestant, when, lo and behold, who should come in under the arched gateway from the corrals but the larger buffalo bull, the eight year old. The unusual applause evidenced the surprise at the unusual spectacle. Scarcely had he entered the ring when the men who brought him noticed that in his left hind leg the fetlock joint was dislocated, done perhaps when kicking in the box car. He walked out and stood peacefully about in the middle of the ring. Just about then a handsome, red

Mexican fighting bull was ushered in through the gate. Full of whatever it is that makes things want to fight, he surveyed the bull ring, and there saw the buffalo standing three quartering away from him. It was plain that the buffalo, for no reason at all, incurred his immediate displeasure, and he made a charge calculated to annihilate this object of his wrath. Something should here be made known that was then within the knowledge of the men who had handled both buffaloes and cattle, but was not suspected by the Mexicans, or at least by the Mexican bulls. When a domestic or a fighting bull has occasion to pivot he pivots on his powerful hind legs. When a bison, whose great weight is distributed over his front legs, is pivoting in fight, he does it on his front legs, swinging his lighter hind quarters away. As this bull charged the buffalo, which continued three quartering away from him, it seemed certain to the Mexicans, and apparently to the bull, that in an instant the buffalo would be fearfully, if not fatally, gored in the flank. But the buffalo is fitted by nature for survival, and almost at the instant of contact those hind quarters mysteriously swung away, and his frowsy head met that of the bull full on. As he backed away it was plain that the bull was a sceptic, and that he believed the first blow was a pure accident. His blood told him he was one of Mexico's choicest bulls. He backed away to the right distance and angle, about the same angle as before, and charged again. This assault was the same as before, and with similar consequences, except that this time the buffalo put a little more steam into his punch, and knocked his red majesty back on his haunches. The courageous heart of the bull left him still unconvinced, and, after some little delay, he got himself in position to deliver the charge that would settle the fray. A third time he charged, and with still worse luck. Backing away he surveyed his enemy, and seemed to regard him as a foeman more than worthy of his steel. Admiration seemed to be written all over the face of that bull, and yet the will to conquer would not down. He had been the aggressor throughout, and the buffalo had waged only defensive war. Of course, in all justice it should be remembered

that the buffalo had been suddenly transported from a cold to a warm climate, he was in entirely strange surroundings, he had ridden cooped up in one end of a box car for seven straight days, and he had a dislocated fetlock. If Jack Dempsey had been similarly handled before he went up against the Wild Bull of the Pampas a different championship story might have been written. The bull decided to make one more try for glory, and again maneuvered himself into position to gore that tantalizing flank. The charge was met this time by a greater show of buffalo force, and the bull went down under the impact. That seemed to terrorize him, and the poor creature actually tried to climb out of the ring.

Realizing that which his joint adventurers from the Northwest did not know, that an advertisement in Mexico was a contract with the public, Felix Robert requested the right to turn in another bull with the buffalo. This was immediately granted, and promptly another Mexican bull made his angry entrance through the gateway to the bull ring from the pens. A quick look about and he seemed imbued with peeve against the shaggy monster standing strangely three quartering away from him. His decision was quickly made to gore that flank, and, with a confidence born of careful breeding, he proceeded without delay to execute his resolve. By some legerdemain which that bull likely never did understand, a monstrous, well protected and well armed head was suddenly substituted for the flank he had in mind. Three runs that bull made and then, like his red companion of the first encounter, he sought refuge in flight. From then on no coaxing born of bull fighting skill could get him to charge man or beast.

Negotiations were quickly completed for the right to turn in a third fighting bull, and his experience was an exact duplicate of that of the second bull. Three panicky bulls were now careering around the ring with the bull fighters exercising all the wiles of their game to get them to put up some semblance of a fight, but to no avail. About then the buffalo seemed to lose all interest in the show, and laid down in the ring with the idea of making himself comfort-

able. That seemed to arouse the enthusiasm of the crowd, and they lustily cheered the buffalo, which was now nonchalantly resting.

Felix Robert, still fearful of an adverse order from the president of the fight, came running up to his friends from Dakota, and said, "Now I know this isn't very sporty but the bulls have disappointed me, and I would like to have you agree that I may turn in one more." One of the Northerners said, "Turn in all the damn bulls you wish, just so you give that buffalo room to turn around." The fourth bull was turned in and he, with no lack of courage at the beginning, charged as did his predecessors, and did it three successive times. By this time, apparently in resentment at the interruption to his nap, the buffalo undertook to carry the fight to the now thoroughly frightened bulls, but his injured hind leg prevented the display of speed required, and he was unable to catch his opponents in the race, for such it now was. Soon the gate to the pens was opened, and almost magical was the disappearance of the bulls through it and to safety. Shortly, the buffalo, too, betook himself to the recesses beyond the gate. So ended the first formal contest between bull and buffalo.

Then there was turned into the ring a bull with brass knobs fastened on the ends of his horns to prevent goring, and with a small sack of money tied on his head with a string around the base of his horns. It seemed as though all the children south of the Rio Grande piled into that ring after the little sack of money. Many were tossed but none seemed badly injured, and eventually one small chap got caught on the horns, and, before the bull had time to toss him, he had disengaged the sack. And the afternoon's performance was over as the shadows of evening fell across the bull ring, and the crowd filed out.

A week's stay was then required, because on the next Sunday it was planned to have another affair, which was expected to net greater financial returns than the first. The proceeds from the first fight were enough to pay for the buffaloes and all the expenses of the trip, fortunately. El Paso, formerly famous for gun men of the John Wesley

Hardin type, was sufficiently interesting in itself to justify a week's visit, even if one were to discount the equally interesting Mexican city across the Rio Grande. Juarez, with its cock fights, its gambling halls, and other forms of stormy amusement, correctly calculated to draw the money from the folks away from home, was not a place in which time was expected to hang too heavy. One of the places of interest was the jail of the city, built in the sixteenth century by the Spaniards, with its tremendous walls of solid stone masonry, and its company of armed soldiers standing guard, and the observer would never be led to believe that a wooden pistol would be a sufficient vehicle of escape. That horde of bull fighters was a unique group of loafers six days in the week, and active showmen on Sunday. Well armed Mexican rurales, or mounted police, with their turnip horned saddles, looking like men who would be greatly amused to see a bullet riddled man fall, added a touch of romance to an already wholly romantic picture. Here and there, too, would be pointed out the American who could not go home. At least one of the Northerners, perhaps in a spirit of caution, made a genuine, friendly acquaintance with United States Consul Edwards, who hailed from Lead, South Dakota, and who seemed especially pleased at the chance to see folks from home. Anyway, it is not always a poor idea to have friendly connections with those in authority.

On the El Paso side of the river many unusual personages were to be met, especially if one were not too unwilling to mingle with the guests at the Coney Island and Gem saloons. In the Coney Island, a place famed in the annals of the Southwest, and operated by his two good friends, Tom Powers and Billy Amonett, the famous Pat Garrett was not an infrequent visitor. He was then collector of the port of El Paso by appointment from Theodore Roosevelt. Garrett, with his gun fighting friend, Tobe Driskill, and other cowboys on the rampage in Dodge City when it was the end of the trail, had once been cowed into submission and arrested before the cold, grey eyes and effective pistol of Wyatt Earp. At a later time, as a New Mexico Sheriff, Garrett was the law's instrument of death for Billy The Kid. No one then sus-

pected that Pat Garrett would meet his death in the next calendar year at the point of an opposing pistol and that his funeral sermon should consist of Robert Ingersoll's speech at the grave of his brother, read by his friend, Tom Powers. Interesting places and people they were, and no mistake.

But to pierce the veil of the future into the next calendar year seems to be little if any more difficult than to see clearly to next Sunday, and so it was in this instance. The first fight, as scheduled, advertised and carried out, was to have four regular bull fights, and then a fight between the buffalo and a bull. For the next Sunday the program was for four bull fights and then the younger buffalo bull would be fought by the men in regular bull fighting procedure. A lot of badinage and bluffing was carried on as to the relative merits of bulls and men and buffaloes. El Cuco, who seemed to be the Babe Ruth of the Juarez bull ring was the man given the doubtful post of honor as matador, and his was the job to administer the fatal thrust to the buffalo bull. A highly popular man, a jovial companion, and a courageous fellow, he knew by heart everything that a bull could be expected to do in the ring, and it never occurred to him that a buffalo might not consider himself bound by the rules governing the ring conduct of mere bulls. A bull charges straight, while a buffalo is likely to go into battle feinting and jabbing with those dangerous horns of his after the manner of a skillful boxer. While a bull pivots on his hind feet, the buffalo makes his swing on his front feet. A bull does not kick, while a buffalo seems to delight in damage done by those outstandingly capable hind feet. Moreover, the thin skin that protects the spinal cord and vital organs of the bull is not the character of protection which nature has designed for the survival of the buffalo. One should not be led into the thoughtless error that the hump on the buffalo is caused by curvature of the spine, for indeed his spine is just as straight as that of any bull, beef or fighting. The upper prongs of the vertebrae are elongated to about a foot at the height of the hump, filled in with muscle, or steak, and hence the preference for that part of the animal by

those who in earlier days used him for meat. Over that part of him nature has placed on the full grown animal a tough hide about an inch or more in thickness. Over that thickness of skin is placed an almost impervious blanket of matted, curly, woolen hair, six inches or more through. Still more, the great height of the buffalo makes him a far better target for the heavy rifle of the expert hunter than for the slender sword of the matador.

All through the discussion of the probabilities of the next Sunday El Cuco had all the coolness of complete confidence of a brave and skillful man. His confidence was communicated to his friend, Felix Robert, who in the warmth of discussion said, "I'll bet you \$500.00 Cuco kills your buffalo." Bob Yokum, who was a sport if he was anything, retorted, "Hell, I'll give you a better bet than that. I'll bet you \$500.00 the buffalo kills Cuco." So the bet was laid, but the mystery was never solved, nor the bet paid.

At last the long awaited Sunday came, and with it a paying crowd that filled the great arena to capacity, to witness a bull fight presided over by the Governor of Chihuahua as president of the fight. Then came the fiasco. After the cavalcade had made its pretentious entrance, the salutes were given and acknowledged, the first bull was let into the arena, and what should he be but the beautiful, red fighting bull that had first fought the buffalo on the preceding Sunday. No amount of coaxing could get him to believe that his adversary of the week before was not somewhere in that ring. Without regard to men or horses, capes or pics, he persisted only in his search for the most accessible spot to climb the walls. Said to be one of the best specimens of the fighting bull ever exhibited in the Juarez bull ring, he had left only the instinct and desire for escape. He was finally run back through the chute into the pens, and another bull was sent in to take his place. Then followed an experience said to have been unparalleled in the annals of the bull ring. Three other bulls were successively let in, and each in his turn refused to fight, and could not be prevailed upon to charge horse or cape. It must be remembered that the advertising had said four bull fights.

At this point, Felix Robert, realizing that the fight was going flat, went running to the ring side seats of the three Dakotans and said "I don't know what I am going to do. My bulls won't fight, and I never saw anything like this before." Not realizing the dire financial possibilities one of the Dakotans said, "Don't blame us if your bulls won't fight." "But," said Felix, "the President will call off the fight and make us return the money." That presented a more dismal prospect than some of the Dakotans could enjoy, and one said, "Well, what do you propose to do about it?" Robert said, "We'll turn in the buffalo and see if he will fight." The Dakotan answered, "Just have one of your men stick a sword or one of those pics in the buffalo, and, by gad, he'll fight." Amid the hubbub of disgruntlement from the crowd, the younger buffalo was admitted to the ring, and he came in just looking for trouble. A few skillful and careful passes were made at him with the capes, and he seemed to discard all his passive good humor. At this time a tremendous uproar came from the crowd, and all eyes seemed glued on the President's box. A blackboard with a lot of writing in chalk on it, none of which meant anything to the three Northerners, hung in front of the box. Felix Robert said, "They have called off the fight, and ordered the money refunded. I'll go and see what I can do." He hurried to the President's box, and seemed to be discussing the matter with agitated eloquence, but to no avail. Down in the ring was the courageous Cuco, with a banderilla in each hand, petitioning the president that if he would not let him fight the buffalo at least to let him plant the two banderillas in him. Much less privilege than that would please most folks acquainted with buffaloes. The President's answer was that unless Felix Robert would quit talking to him and Cuco get out of the ring, in addition to ordering the money refunded he would fine each of them five hundred dollars and suspend Cuco as a bull fighter. There a buffalo was spoiling for a fight and Cuco aching to fight him. But the President was adamant and the crowd filed out of the amphitheatre, each receiving back his entrance money, aggregating thousands of dollars. It was a stormy, angry scene,

but the mystery remains—Could Cuco kill the buffalo or would something permanent happen to Cuco?

Three disappointed Dakotans crossed the international bridge, to receive the stimulating sympathy of their friends in the Coney Island. Early the next morning a deal was made with an El Paso butcher, or maybe it was made that night, to buy the two buffaloes at \$200.00 each, and hang them up in his shop as an advertising stunt. Over to Juarez went the four of them to get the buffaloes for the butcher, and found Felix in a corner saloon in none too good humor. When they got to the little abode that Felix Robert used for his office, with several impressive appearing rurales strategically placed, the Dakotans heard the amazing news that Felix did not intend to give up the buffaloes. They were to be his from then on. The fact that Bob had been suspected of making eyes, or something, at the beautiful Mexican wife of a matador did not seem to lend any peaceful atmosphere to the negotiations, so he had to be completely eliminated from the discussion. Expressed reluctance to the loss of their buffaloes seemed to make matters no better, and the two remaining negotiators were startled to hear Robert say, "Well, I lost \$1500.00 in expenses on yesterday's fight. I am going to sue you fellows for that amount, and I am going to put you in jail until I get ready to sue you." One look at the savage six shooters of the rurales lent conviction to his argument, and made calm thinking a virtue. One could probably escape any evil effects of the six shooters by marching peacefully to that terrible fortress used there as a jail. But when would Felix Robert get ready to sue them? That was an impressive question in a country like Mexico, where time seemed of little moment, and where the Anglo-Saxon right of habeas corpus had no place. The only silver lining to the terrible cloud cast by the thought of that jail was the man from Lead—American Consul Edwards, who could be used if necessary. Acting on the Presbyterian belief that a soft answer turneth away wrath, the negotiators expressed no end of sympathy with the manager of the bull ring at the loss sustained, and the sorrow, to which all were party, caused by the refunding of the money. The

deal proceeded to the final compromise of Robert taking his pick of the buffaloes and the butcher taking the other. The older buffalo was selected by Robert, and the butcher, a good sport, agreed to take the younger one. The rurales were then dismissed, the three Dakotans and the butcher returned to El Paso, and the two hundred dollars paid, the transaction being finally closed in the hospitable grandeur of the Coney Island. A real homey place the Coney Island seemed on that occasion, after distressing business surroundings of the morning. The experiences filed away in the storehouse of recollection, and the goodbyes said to the friends in El Paso, the three men took transportation back to the snow and the blows of South Dakota, their bull fighting days over forever. Still they wondered who would have won that bet. Could Cuco kill the buffalo, or would the buffalo have killed Cuco?

After the first fight Eb Jones and his younger companion had visions of the sporting life, and they agreed to a rather ambitious program, in which Bob Yokum refused to join, because his business interests in Pierre and Fort Pierre demanded his return. The plan was that after the second fight, the results of which they did not doubt so far as the buffalo was concerned, they would take the two buffaloes to Chihuahua and fight them there against any and all comers, man or beast. After exhausting all the sporting and financial possibilities there they would go on to Mexico City, where Diaz then held sway. When that city was conquered, they would take their buffaloes and go on to Madrid.

"The best laid plans o' mice an' men gang aft agley," but plans must be laid even if they fail of fruition. Several years afterwards at one of the Gas Belt Expositions, an annual event formerly held in Pierre, one of the group met a lady who was quite thrilled over a visit she had made that day to see the Scotty Philip buffalo herd. She then told about being in El Paso and going to Juarez on two successive Sundays to see some fights in which buffaloes participated. When she learned that her listener was there too she asked him if he knew what had become of the remaining buffalo. He admitted that he had lost an interest in

the animal, and did not know. She then told that several Sundays later, after his leg had fully mended, the big buffalo was advertised to fight a bull in Juarez. A specially constructed pen had been built of four by four timbers in the center of the bull ring, with a chute leading to it from the pens. The buffalo was run into it, and a fighting bull followed. In the fight that ensued, where there was neither escape nor flight, the bull was fought and killed. A second bull and then a third shared the same fate. Then a fourth bull was run in, and when the buffalo killed him he broke the pen shoving his slain opponent through the side. According to her story there was no refunding of the money that day. She was then asked what eventually became of the buffalo, and she answered, "I don't know, but the story I heard is that they took him to Chihuahua and fought him there against the bulls. Then they took him to Mexico City and fought bulls with him there, and the last I heard of him it was said he was in Madrid." Maybe the lady had the story straight. Who knows? But still the question, forever unanswered, is—Could Cuco kill the buffalo, or would the buffalo have killed Cuco?

EARLY MANUFACTURING ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH DAKOTA, 1857-1875

By Herbert S. Schell

The early settlements of South Dakota had a very slow growth during the first decade and a half of their existence. Progress was hampered by factors over which the settlers had little or no control. Not only was the agricultural development retarded, but the mercantile interests that spring from the wants of society enjoyed little encouragement. The evolution of a frontier society can readily be traced in the manufacturing activities of the southeastern counties of South Dakota, where the first settlements were planted.

The early settlers located along the Missouri and its tributaries, the Big Sioux, the Vermillion, and the Dakota or James rivers. Then as more land was taken up, later arrivals followed the river valleys farther inland. These areas were settled first partly because of the natural fertility of the soil and partly because of the timber supply found along these streams. The settlers studiously stuck to the river bottoms and the bench land close to the rivers; some even reasoned that the land away from the rivers would not be inhabited but would become a cattle range. The absence of timber, it was thought, would preclude its occupation for farming purposes.

The sawmill was South Dakota's first manufactory. Cottonwood trees were plentiful, and lumber was a primary need of the settlers. The ring of the woodchopper's axe and the buzz of the saw, accordingly, became indices of progress. The first sawmill in the settlements made its appearance on August 23, 1857, when agents of the Western Town Company arrived to make improvements upon the townsite of Sioux Falls City. W. W. Brookings was in charge of the machinery which also included a cornmeal grist-mill. The following June the movable portion of the machinery was placed for a short time within the protecting walls of Fort Sod when the Indians threatened to wipe out

the settlement.¹ There was little employment for this water power mill. In October, 1859, the entire village of Sioux Falls City consisted of five cabins, a store, a blacksmith shop, and the sawmill, and possessed a population of two white women and twenty-three white men. The Democrat, August 26, 1859, made the comment: "The saw and grist mills are again in operation, after a suspension of a couple of weeks." On February 18, 1860, this item was repeated with a minor textual variation. With the evacuation of the Big Sioux Valley in 1862, this early sawmill passed out of existence.

On the Missouri slope, the first sawmill was installed at Vermillion during the early part of 1860 by Hugh Compton and Jacob Deuel. According to George W. Kingsbury, the mill was located in a heavy timber near the west bank of the Vermillion River. Compton and Deuel were identified with the "lost Townsite" of North Bend which was organized in 1857 on the Nebraska side opposite Vermillion. Deuel had operated the sawmill there prior to his removal across the river while Compton had run a saloon. A cornmeal grist-mill was, likewise, attached to the equipment. The sawmill did a flourishing business at Vermillion during 1860, 1861, and 1862. There was so much lumber to be sawn that the owners at times, unwilling to stop the saw, refused to grind any corn.² According to issues of *The Dakota Republican* for September, 1861, and July 5, 1862, Bly Wood, living three miles west of Vermillion, had a good supply of cottonwood shingles. He offered them cheaply for cash or young cattle and hogs taken in exchange. Wood evidently possessed a shingle machine.

The next sawmill in Vermillion of which there is any definite record is that of Curliss and Denison who were operating in 1867 four miles southwest of the town. In 1870, according to the report of the Commissioner of Immigration, Clay County had four steam mills in operation. One of these was operated by Hans Gunderson, who owned a large tract southeast of Vermillion. Gunderson was pos-

¹ D. R. Bailey, HISTORY OF MINNEHAHA COUNTY, SOUTH DAKOTA (Sioux Falls, 1899), 15.

² SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, VI, 202.

sibly sawing lumber as early as 1867. The Curliss and Denison mill was operated at this time by Jesse and Orlu Watson.³ In 1872 James McHenry established a new saw-mill at Vermillion, and at the same time a man by the name of Douglass operated one west of Vermillion. The Watson brothers were also operating.⁴

Yankton did not enjoy the facilities of a sawmill during the early years of its existence. In the July 19, 1864, issue of the *Dakota Union*, Moses K. Armstrong described an improvisation resorted to during the winter of 1859-60 in order to supply the demand for lumber. During the winter, Armstrong, together with G. D. Fiske, William Thompson, George Pike and Charles Wallace, "ranchd" in the timber four miles below Yankton. "At that place," he wrote, "a handsaw-mill was started by projecting two long timbers over the steep river bank, across which was laid a saw-log, to be cut into lumber by two men, with a whip-saw, one standing below, and the other above, the log. Some 5000 feet of lumber was cut in this way, including the frame work of four houses. This may be called the first saw-mill in the county." Aside from this improvised saw-pit, Yankton had to rely upon other localities for building materials. According to Armstrong, the greater part of the lumber used in the construction of the store building of Downer T. Bramble came from the sawmill of Jacob Deuel at North Bend, a distance of 35 miles. This is said to have been the first frame building built in Dakota.⁵ The lumber used by Henry C. Ash in the construction of his hotel in 1861 was rafted down the Missouri from a sawmill about fifteen miles up the river on the Nebraska side.⁶

Yankton's building needs became more directly supplied when A. S. Chase put up a steam mill in August, 1861, in

³ UNION AND DAKOTAIAN, Feb. 16, 1867, March 17, 1870; DAKOTA REPUBLICAN, Sept. 1, 1870; REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, 1870-1, p. 45.

⁴ W. H. Stoddard, TURNER COUNTY PIONEER HISTORY (Sioux Falls, 1931), 136; UNION COUNTY COURIER, Sept. 4, 1872; DAKOTA REPUBLICAN, Sept. 5, 1872.

⁵ George W. Kingsbury, in his commentaries on the census of 1860 in SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS (1920), X, 411, states that the lumber was sawn out at St. James, Nebraska. The writer accepts the Armstrong statement as the more authentic.

⁶ Letter of Ben C. Ash in Diamond Jubilee edition of YANKTON PRESS AND DAKOTAN, June 6, 1936.

the timber on the Nebraska side of the Missouri, opposite Yankton. At this time, Thomas Frick and Henry Arend had a shingle mill in operation three miles from Yankton near the upper ferry on the James River, cutting shingles for the market at \$3 and \$3.50 per thousand. Shingles were also supplied by a mill at Bon Homme, operated by the firm of Stagers and Falkenberg.⁷ A year later, two carpenters, Thompson and Griffith, established a shingle cutting machine in Yankton.⁸ During 1862 the town was well supplied with cottonwood lumber. The *Dakotian* on June 3, in addition to advertisements from Chase and the partnership of Frick and Arend, printed the card of Lewis E. Jones of St. Helena, Nebraska, who offered to deliver lumber, lath and shingles in Yankton. In September, 1862, W. H. Granger arrived with a sawmill but apparently did not operate it continuously. A year later the *Dakotian* stated that Granger's mill, which had slumbered so long near the margin of the river, had been moved to Smutty Bear's Bottom.⁹ This quite likely became the property of Jacob Brauch who was operating a sawmill in that vicinity during 1864, 1865 and 1866, selling out to Jones, McIntyre and Company in September, 1866.¹⁰ This was the only sawmill in Yankton at that time. In June, 1867, it was moved to the lower part of the town and was in operation the following month under the management of the new firm.¹¹

By 1868 building activities were decidedly on the increase as newcomers arrived daily looking for new opportunities. Yankton soon had five establishments serving her needs. A. P. Hammon and Company took over the mill in the town in 1868 and the following year operated another one in the timber along the Missouri eight or nine miles above. Six miles west of Yankton a new mill was installed by W. W. Brookings and Jacob Brauch in February, 1868. McIntyre and Lee ran a sawmill in the timber about two miles from the town on the Nebraska side. A fifth mill was added by George W. Kingsbury and a partner by the name of Lee in

⁷ WEEKLY DAKOTIAN, July 27, Aug. 3, 1861.

⁸ IBID., July 29, 1862.

⁹ WEEKLY DAKOTIAN, Sept. 30, 1862, Sept. 22, 1863.

¹⁰ IBID., July 26, 1864, June 17, July 8, 1865, Aug. 4, Sept. 22, 1866.

¹¹ UNION AND DAKOTIAN, June 15, July 20, 1867.

September, 1869, also on the Nebraska side.¹² In 1870 four steam sawmills operated in the vicinity of Yankton, two of which were on the Nebraska side.

Bon Homme County had been practically abandoned as the result of the Indian troubles of 1862 and did not attract many settlers before 1869. A sawmill started operations under the management of A. P. Hammon half a mile below the town of Bon Homme in June, 1870. In the spring of 1870 the townsite of Springfield was surveyed and platted, and building started at once. A steam sawmill, with a shingle mill attached, was erected by Samuel Henderson, a recent arrival from Wisconsin. It is not certain which of the two sawmills began operations first.¹³ The county was well-supplied by large bodies of timber that skirted the Missouri and Niobrara rivers. Moreover, a large quantity of cedar logs was cut in the Niobrara Valley and floated down the river. In 1872, besides the mills at Bon Homme and Springfield, two steam sawmills were operating on the Nebraska side, near the mouth of the Niobrara.¹⁴ The *Springfield Times* in 1872, referring to the brisk demand for lumber, stated that the sawmill of Palmer and Snow employed two sets of hands, keeping their mill running day and night, and still finding it impossible to fill orders as fast as they came in.¹⁵

Union County was bountifully supplied with timber, excelling the other counties in this respect. Situated between the Big Sioux and the Missouri, it was skirted on both sides by a belt of timber, mostly cottonwood. The belt along the Missouri averaged about two miles in depth. This timber found a ready market not only in Dakota but in Sioux City as well. The first sawmill in the county was established during the summer of 1862 in a slough near Elk

¹² *IBID.*, Feb. 8, 29, Nov. 7, 1868, Feb. 13, April 3, 24, Sept. 11, 1869. James S. Foster, *OUTLINES OF HISTORY OF THE TERRITORY OF DAKOTA* (1870) in *S. DAK. HIST. COLLS.*, XIV, 125, does not mention the mill of Brookings and Brauch. It apparently was not operating in 1870.

¹³ *UNION AND DAKOTAIAN*, June 9, 1870; *REPORT OF COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION*, 1870-1, p. 44; *HISTORY OF SOUTHEASTERN DAKOTA* (Sioux City, 1881), 202. The latter publication gives Henderson the credit for sawing the first lumber in the county but gives no exact date.

¹⁴ *REPORT OF COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION*, 1872, p. 18.

¹⁵ *SPRINGFIELD TIMES*, June 20, Oct. 17, 1872.

Point by Preston Hotchkiss and a man named Whitcomb, recent arrivals from Ponca, Nebraska.¹⁶ Increased immigration to Sioux City and Dakota Territory by the late eighties brought on intense activity in the timber belts of Union County. In January, 1868, three steam sawmills were in operation, one at Elk Point, one on the Big Sioux, and the other in the Missouri timber belt.¹⁷ The mill on the Big Sioux was established during the winter of 1867-68 by J. P. Dennis, a Sioux City lumber dealer. Shortly thereafter he sold his interests to a Mr. Webber who operated the mill for at least another year. Dennis continued to receive a supply of cottonwood from the Dakota mill.¹⁸ In 1870, several mills were located in the county. Along the lower part of the Big Sioux were two operated by the firms of Alspah and Harpan, and Prosser and Chetwin. Above these was a sawmill operated in connection with the grist-mill of Hotchkiss and Dexter. This was run by water power. Hotchkiss had moved the mill from Elk Point. Another mill, evidently driven by steam, was operated in Sioux Valley Township by Hiram Stratton. In the Ponca Bend, in the Missouri timber, was the steam mill of C. W. Patten and two miles above it, at the newly-established town of Texas at the Ponca ferry crossing, was the steam mill of S. B. Stough.¹⁹ The latter mill was in operation in 1868 under the management of Henry Quick. Most of these mills had shingle machines attached to them.

A mill was also established at Liberty in 1869 by James Curtis and his two sons who hoped to build up a village on the boundary line between Union and Clay counties near the present town of Burbank. According to Kingsbury who visited Liberty in August of that year, a steam sawmill was in full operation then. The Curtis family also planned

¹⁶ WEEKLY DAKOTIAN, June 17, 1862.

¹⁷ Communication from George W. Kellogg to the Joint Committee on Agricultural and Mineral Resources of Dakota Territory, HOUSE JOURNAL, 1867-8, p. 307.

¹⁸ SIOUX CITY JOURNAL, Aug. 13, 27, 1868, Jan. 21, 1869. Union County Mortgage Record Book I, p. 9, records a contract between John McBride and J. P. Dennis, dated Oct. 31, 1867, whereby Dennis in consideration of a leasing of two acres of timber land binds himself to erect a sawmill.

¹⁹ REPORT OF COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, 1870-1, pp. 22-24; W. H. H. Felt, HISTORY OF UNION COUNTY, 72.

²⁰ UNION AND DAKOTA, Aug. 14, 1869.

to establish a steam grist-mill. The plans for Liberty did not materialize and apparently the sawmill was no longer in operation in 1870.²⁰ According to a communication from Union County in the *Yankton Press*, February 1, 1871, there were nine sawmills in the county at that time. In 1872, J. W. Hoffman and a Mr. Letter began operating a sawmill two miles northwest of the Ponca ferry in connection with Hoffman's lumber yard in Elk Point. At that date, according to the report of the Commissioner of Immigration, six sawmills were located within six miles of Elk Point.²¹

Farther up the Big Sioux in Lincoln and Minnehaha counties, settlers arrived in increasing numbers in 1870 and began to utilize the scanty timber resources along the river. According to the *Union and Dakotian* of September 12, 1868, Halvor Nelson was building a sawmill in the vicinity of Canton at that time. The mill was on the Iowa side and was still in operation in 1870.²² A shingle mill erected at Canton in the fall of 1868 by Thomas Sargent and W. S. Smith is said to have been the first machinery in the county.²³ In 1870 John Nelson was sawing lumber in Minnehaha County at a mill on the river eight miles above Sioux Falls. Frank and Dennis Rice constructed a dam across the Big Sioux at Dell Rapids during the fall of 1871 and installed a sawmill the following spring.²⁴

The early sawmills of South Dakota were an integral part of the social economy of the locality in which they were situated. They made possible the utilization of one of the few raw materials readily available. Before the advent of the railroad the various communities were practically limited to local resources for their supply of lumber. In many instances, prior to the appearance of the sawmill, whipsaws fashioned the saw logs into rough boards. The

²⁰ UNION COUNTY COURIER, May 1, 1872; REPORT OF COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, 1872, p. 69.

²² Foster, p. 141; SIOUX CITY WEEKLY JOURNAL, Sept. 29, 1870; information from James M. Wahl, Worthing, S. Dak.

²³ HISTORY OF SOUTHEASTERN DAKOTA, 175.

²⁴ REPORT OF COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, 1870-1, p. 39; Bailey, HISTORY OF MINNEHAHA COUNTY, 1911. The census of 1870 does not report any sawmill for Minnehaha County. Only ten are reported for the entire Territory. U. S. CENSUS, 1870, III, Wealth and Industry, pp. 502, 644.

sawmill set the pace for building operations. Mercantile structures, as well as the pioneer homes in the older settlements, were the products of the local lumbering industry.

The early sawmills were valuable community assets in still another way. They furnished employment for settlers with limited means. During the winter months many were drawn to the Missouri bottom where they became employed in cutting timber and hauling logs. Wood choppers could earn from fifty cents to a dollar for cutting a cord of wood for fuel, and about seventy-five cents per thousand feet for sawing cottonwood logs.²⁵ These occupations furnished the means to procure necessary supplies at a time when credit was hard to get, and helped occupants of pre-emption claims to secure title to their holdings.

Timber land was greatly in demand. Early comers pre-empted most of the wooded areas and turned their holdings to good advantage by selling off portions in small lots at a goodly profit at prices ranging from \$15 to \$50 per acre. The settlers who held claims on the prairie within striking distance of the timber eagerly sought woodlots to supply them not only with fuel but saw timber as well. The scarcity of timber led to abuses in its exploitation. It was an unwritten law of the frontier that the settlers might help themselves to timber on the public domain for their immediate needs but at times such encroachments were made for commercial purposes. There was so much trespassing on government timber land that Timber Agents were employed to check it. Henry C. Ash of Yankton secured such an appointment for Dakota Territory in 1866.²⁶ As settlements advanced northward from the Missouri Valley into the upper parts of Yankton, Clay and Union counties and into Hutchinson, Turner and Lincoln, the market for the native lumber expanded. Two and even three day trips were not uncommon for some of these settlers who travelled thirty and even fifty miles to the sawmills in the Missouri bottom. The cottonwood trees here were larger than those in the Big Sioux Valley, and these mills were consequently able

²⁵ Stoddard, 38, 136.

²⁶ SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, X, 410.

to furnish a better product for building purposes. A greater market for fencing materials developed with more intensive farming operations during the early seventies, thus taxing the timber resources of the Territory still further. After 1872, however, wire fencing came into wide use, and fewer board fences were constructed.

Logging at first was an extremely wasteful industry, for the tops were discarded as waste. Increasing fuel needs, however, served to reduce the wasteful process. The steamboats engaged in the river traffic also furnished a market for the parts of the trees not used for shingles and lumber. Sawmill owners who could find suitable landings established wood yards for the accommodation of steamboats. Whenever fuel was running low on the boat, the whistle would be sounded at intervals and the owner of the wood yard would rush out to the landing to display a flag so that the captain might know that wood was available. The wood yard business was quite profitable and proved a boon to the settlers as well as the sawmill owners, if their tracts of timber happened to be located along the bank of the river where a suitable landing for boats could be found.²⁷

The earliest buildings erected by the settlers were in no wise pretentious affairs. The pioneer log cabins were built with earthen roofs and floors. Sometimes the doors were so low that the occupants had to stoop. Sod shanties were not numerous, as these habitations were more distinctly the product of the timberless prairie. Poles and stakes, covered with hay, frequently served as barns. These were generally just high enough to furnish shelter for work oxen and other cattle. Such buildings were inexpensive and required little effort when lumber was scarce or hard to procure. The log cabins were, however, intended merely as makeshifts and were soon replaced by more dignified and conventional structures. When the first log frame houses appeared, they were generally entirely of cottonwood. Cottonwood siding could not easily be painted but, as long as Dakota was without a railroad, pine lumber was too expensive for general use. Cottonwood shingles had their drawbacks,

²⁷ Communication from K. B. Stoddard, Parker, S. Dak.

too, for they warped easily or even doubled up when wet. The early frame houses were called "balloon" or "spike" frames.

Before the railroad reached Sioux City in 1868, pine lumber was practically out of the question for Dakotans. When Sioux City became the nearest railway point, more pine was shipped into the Dakota settlements, generally by steamboat, but the product remained expensive as it had to be shipped in by way of Chicago over a route where there was little competition and freight rates were high.²⁸ In 1872 Sioux City was put into direct communication with the pineries of Minnesota through the completion of the St. Paul and Sioux City line. In 1872 and 1873 the Dakota Southern furnished Dakota with a railroad connection. Pine lumber now became more plentiful in the Dakota market and its price was more within reach of the consumer. In 1872 pine siding was offered on the market at \$15 per thousand feet, a lower price than cottonwood had commanded a few years before.²⁹ The numerous lumber yards that sprang up in Elk Point, Vermillion and Yankton after 1872, advertising pine siding as well as other imported lumber, indicate the radical change that was taking place in Dakota architecture. Cottonwood beams continued to be used because of their durable nature under cover. Pine boarding and pine shingles, however, displaced the cottonwood product. Houses became more attractive in appearance. Unpainted structures became less common.

Other building materials utilized at an early date were brick and chalk-stone. Brick was particularly desired for chimneys and foundations. Before any were manufactured locally, bricks were generally shipped in from Sergeant Bluff and Sioux City. According to an issue of the *Dakota Republican*, published in September, 1861, P. F. Holden was manufacturing bricks for local use one mile below Vermillion. Clay was available in various communities and, when building activities set in on a larger scale during the

²⁸ The lack of pine timber was a theme that appeared in every agitation in Dakota Territory for the opening of the Black Hills during the eighteen sixties.

²⁹ UNION COUNTY COURIER, Aug. 14, 1872.

late eighteen sixties, brick manufacturing was generally introduced into Dakota Territory. According to records available, the first bricks in Union County were made at Elk Point in 1867 by Fairchild. These were undoubtedly greatly welcomed in a county where stone was so scarce that none was even available for walling wells. The success of Fairchild's venture is not known. The continuance of brick manufacturing in Union County is indicated by the erection of three brick buildings at Richland in 1870, said to have been the first in the county.³⁰

In Yankton the first brick kiln was established in 1868 by Charles H. McIntyre and Thomas Allison. McIntyre also had an interest in the local sawmill. Soon others were attracted by the potential market for bricks. Bosler and Koontz, who had been engaged in the industry at St. Helena, Nebraska, moved their plant closer to Yankton in the summer of 1869. The kiln was erected on the Nebraska side eight miles above Yankton, and the bricks were sent down the river by flat boat. At the same time, a man by the name of Schaeffer made bricks about seven miles west of the town, receiving large orders from the capital city where brick buildings were becoming numerous.³¹ In 1870 D. H. Shearer put into operation a new brick yard north of Yankton. Vermillion also received a brick yard in 1870.³² In Sioux Falls 30,000 bricks were manufactured by D. H. Talbot during the summer of 1873 and operations were expanded the following year. The first brick buildings in Sioux Falls were erected in 1875.³³

Further variety in building material was furnished by the chalk-rock found in large quantities along the Missouri, especially in Yankton and Bon Homme counties. The rock when quarried is as soft as chalk and can easily be fashioned into shape for building purposes. It was put to good use

³⁰ ELK POINT LEADER, Nov. 30, 1870.

³¹ UNION AND DAKOTIAN, June 20, July 4, 1868, Feb. 27, July 17, 1869.

³² IBID., May 12, 26, Aug. 4, 1870.

³³ HISTORY OF SOUTHEASTERN DAKOTA, 57, 58; SIOUX CITY WEEKLY TIMES, Aug. 1, 1874.

for foundations.³⁴ An item in the *Union and Dakotian*, May 6, 1865, stated that C. C. P. Meyer was erecting a fine dwelling of chalk-rock in Yankton. On July 13, 1867, the same paper reported that A. B. Smith who had erected a stone cutting machine in the town was busy at work "cross-cutting and ripping out" chalk-stone brick for chimneys as well as stones of proper size for building. There was some hesitancy about using the chalk-rock as a building stone and in 1870 nobody quarried it or prepared it for use. Most doubts were dispelled in 1872 when scientists at Washington, to whom specimens were submitted for analysis, pronounced the rock well fitted even for buildings three and four stories high. The rock, it was stated, would withstand as great a pressure as brick. During that year, a large grist-mill and a number of residences were constructed of this material at Yankton.³⁵ From this time on, chalk-rock was in wide use for buildings in Springfield as well as Yankton. Sometime during this early period, William H. Werdebaugh operated in Yankton a chalk-stone factory, run by horse-power, sawing the rock for buildings and for chimneys.³⁶ The old chalk-rock buildings still standing in these communities bear witness to the durability of the material used in their construction.

Lime for plastering as well as for whitewashing was available from the beginning. Enos Stutsman burned a kiln of 500 bushels in Yankton in the fall of 1860.³⁷ Lime was present in many localities in the form of chalk-rock, and the early newspapers record many instances of lime burning from 1865 on. In the absence of lime, makeshifts were used for plaster and mortar. In localities where a scarcity of wood prevented the burning of lime, calcareous marl was dug out of the river banks and mixed with sand as a substitute for lime and sand mortar. Slough hay cut into inch

³⁴ The frame building of D. T. Bramble, erected during the winter of 1859-60, was plastered with pulverized chalk-rock. The rock was not considered desirable for plastering and was little used for this purpose. SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, X, 411.

³⁵ SIOUX CITY WEEKLY JOURNAL, July 21, 1870; SPRINGFIELD TIMES, March 7, 1872.

³⁶ SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, X, 410.

³⁷ SIOUX CITY TIMES, Nov. 16, 1860. This paper was published only during 1860.

lengths was sometimes used as plasterers' hair and mixed with the marl.³⁸

Flour milling did not start in Dakota Territory until the winter of 1867-68 when Preston Hotchkiss and Amos Dexter erected a grist-mill on the Big Sioux southeast of Elk Point. This was followed by a second mill built by John W. Turner and James McHenry at Bloomingdale, Clay County, in the fall of 1868. Before these local mills were established, Dakota settlers were dependent entirely upon outside sources for their flour. In the early sixties, most of it was shipped in by steamboat from St. Louis, although some was brought in from Minnesota and Iowa. As grist-mills followed the march of settlers into western Iowa and northeastern Nebraska, the supply of flour moved closer to the Dakota settlements. A short-lived flouring-mill operated in Sioux City in 1860. Another one at that time was on the Boyer River. One Union County family in the fall of 1863 patronized Blackman's mill on the Little Sioux. In 1864, Sanborn and Follett, pioneer lumber manufacturers of Sioux City, ran a steam grist-mill. By the early part of 1867 A. R. Appleton was operating a water-power mill on the Floyd two miles above Sioux City. From this time on, Sioux City was continuously served by local grist-mills.³⁹ By 1866 and 1867 grist-mills at Ponca, St. Helena and St. James, Nebraska, were also accessible to the Dakota settlers.

The establishment of grist-mills in Dakota coincided with a favorable turn in the fortunes of the Territory. Severe droughts and grasshopper plagues, as well as Indian disturbances, hampered settlement prior to 1867, and agricultural activities remained restricted. As more favorable conditions set in during the later sixties, more settlers were attracted. Unoccupied land was rapidly taken up in the older communities, and the line of settlement in the southeastern counties advanced into the interior following the streams flowing into the Missouri. More extensive farming

³⁸ PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN, Jan. 15, 1878; Fate, HISTORY OF UNION COUNTY, 72.

³⁹ SIOUX CITY TIMES, March 16, 1860; SIOUX CITY JOURNAL, Aug. 27, 1864, March 9, 1867; historical items in LEADER-COURIER (Elk Point), May 17, 1923.

operations followed. Sufficient patronage was now at hand to make flouring-mills successful ventures.

There has been some question whether the honors for being the first in Dakota belong to the mill on the Big Sioux or the one erected at Bloomingdale. A careful scrutiny of contemporary records reveals beyond a doubt that the mill of Hotchkiss and Dexter in Union County preceded that of Turner and McHenry. A charter was granted Preston Hotchkiss and Amos Dexter by the territorial legislature on January 11, 1867, for the construction and maintenance of a mill dam and mill on the Big Sioux. Under the charter, the mill was required to be in running order for the grinding of grain by January 1, 1868.⁴⁰ The mill was constructed during the fall of 1867 and was in operation by the end of the year.⁴¹

The mill was located on lot 3, section 32, township 91, range 48, near the southern line of Elk Point Township. Title to this tract of 56 acres was given on February 22, 1868, by Hiram Stratton to Preston Hotchkiss, Roswell A. Hotchkiss and Amos Dexter for a consideration of \$70.50.⁴² The mill was two stories high, measured 40 by 40 feet and operated two run of burrs with a capacity of 300 bushels a day.⁴³ In June, 1870, the mill changed hands. Louis N. Crill* and E. W. Sargent secured the property for the sum of \$12,000.⁴⁴ The mill was known as the Big Sioux mill and was very successful for a long time. During the period

⁴⁰ GENERAL LAWS, MEMORIALS AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE TERRITORY OF DAKOTA, 1866-67, Special and Private Laws, chapter 3, pp. 87-88.

⁴¹ HOUSE JOURNAL, 1867-68, pp. 307, 313, 315. SIOUX CITY JOURNAL, Sept. 21, Dec. 21, 1867, June 4, 1868. During the early fall of 1868 A. R. Stoddard, a pioneer in the Brule Creek settlement, took wheat for grist to a Ponca mill and later in the winter had wheat ground at the Bloomingdale mill. Communications to writer from W. H. Stoddard, Nov. 27, Dec. 16, 1933, and K. E. Stoddard, Dec. 12, 1933. These correspondents were firmly convinced that the Bloomingdale mill must have preceded the one on the Big Sioux. In the face of what appears to be incontrovertible evidence that the mill was in existence, the more plausible explanation is that for some reason the Hotchkiss mill was inactive at the time.

⁴² Union County Deed Record, I, 267.

⁴³ A good description of the mill by John R. Brennan appeared in the SIOUX CITY TIMES, June 3, 1871. Information also furnished by Dale Hunter, Westfield, Iowa, present owner of mill site. When the enterprise was abandoned in 1887, the building was sold to Grover Lilly of Westfield, Iowa, who converted it into a barn. The structure is still in use on the O. B. Lilly farm, south of Westfield.

* Father of Louis N. Crill, secretary of the South Dakota State Department of Agriculture, 1927-1929.

⁴⁴ Union County Deed Record, I, pp. 489, 492, 509.

it remained the only mill in the Big Sioux Valley it served portions of four states—South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska and Minnesota. It is said to have drawn patronage from Minnesota at a distance of a hundred miles. Its location in the southeastern corner of the Territory eventually proved to be a disadvantage. It was too close to Sioux City to draw trade from that side, and when the line of settlement swept onward up the Sioux Valley and westward to join the new settlements in the Vermillion Valley, it became supplanted by newer and more improved mills. It was too much off the beaten paths. It was seriously damaged by the flood of 1881 but remained in operation until 1887 when its owners abandoned the enterprise.

The Bloomingdale mill began operations in September, 1868. The building was a three story structure, and had originally a single run of burrs. The appearance of the mill was well timed. Practically all the land within a distance of ten miles of Vermillion was occupied by 1868 and claims were rapidly taken beyond. A flourishing settlement formed around Bloomingdale. The demands upon the mill became so heavy that within a year the owners found it necessary to put in an additional run of burrs and otherwise increase the facilities of the mill.⁴⁵

The mill was constructed by James McHenry and John W. Turner, both of whom were intimately identified with the early history of Clay County. McHenry came to Vermillion in 1859 and shortly thereafter opened a store. Turner probably arrived during the early part of 1863. Turner was the practical miller. Born in 1800 in Oneida County, New York, he migrated in 1819 with his father to Oswego County in the same state, then almost an unbroken wilderness. There father and son engaged in the milling business, operating both sawmills and grist-mills. In 1846 he moved to Clinton County, Michigan, where he was in the lumbering and milling business for a period of twelve years.⁴⁶ Experienced millwright as he was, Turner saw the opportunity

⁴⁵ UNION AND DAKOTAIAN, April 25, 1868, July 24, Aug. 7, 1869.

⁴⁶ An excellent biographical sketch of Turner appeared in the UNION COUNTY COURIER, Dec. 1, 1871. Another sketch, slightly inaccurate in spots, is in Stoddard, pp. 14-20.

for a grist-mill and accordingly selected an excellent dam site on the river ten miles north of Vermillion. Although McHenry was associated with him, Turner was personally in charge of the milling operations until 1871 when he filed a claim in Turner County and projected the settlement of Turner near the present town of Davis. McHenry, in the meanwhile, established a store in Bloomingdale in 1870 and continued his interest in the mill until November, 1875, when he sold out to William H. Cooley who the following month sold the grist-mill to John P. Wastlund for \$1,750.⁴⁷

The Bloomingdale mill was of inestimable service to the Dakota settlers during the first two years of its existence. Situated in the interior between the James and the Big Sioux rivers, it commanded a wider area than the Hotchkiss mill. The *Union and Dakotian* on October 7, 1869, stated that teams were daily crossing the bridge over Turkey Creek near Volin "en route for the Bloomingdale Mills." With new mills started in competition, its area became restricted but it continued nevertheless to enjoy substantial patronage from the nearby farming communities. The mill was remodeled in 1884 when the French burrs were replaced by the roller process. Operations were continued until about 1900 when the machinery was dismantled.⁴⁸ The old building is still standing but with the lower story cut off and removed.

In Yankton County plans for grist-mills were under way as early as 1868 but they did not materialize. C. C. P. Meyer contemplated the construction of a water mill on the James River at that time, and G. P. Waldron had plans for one at Yankton. McIntyre and Foster had a similar scheme near Yankton the following year.⁴⁹ In 1872 the building of the famous Excelsior Mills by William Borden and the firm of Bramble and Miner gave Yankton an establishment that was to run for nearly half a century.

The mill of McHenry and Turner on the Vermillion was followed by a second milling enterprise at Lodi, several miles

⁴⁷ Clay County Deed Record, I, 374, Book C, 277, 301.

⁴⁸ Information from J. Will Wastlund, Vermillion, S. Dak.

⁴⁹ *UNION AND DAKOTIAN*, Aug. 31, 1867, Feb. 15, 29, May 30, 1868; Dec. 9, 1869.

northwest of Bloomingdale. This mill was put up by H. H. Rudd and J. L. Fisher, and began operations in November, 1870. It had two run of burrs. The construction was superintended by John W. Turner, Fisher's father-in-law.⁵⁰ In 1872 a steam grist-mill was established in Vermillion by Snyder and Maywood but was soon sold to James McHenry. It was operated in 1874 under a lease by J. G. Botsford. In April, 1875, a steam grist-mill was started by Hans Gunderson in connection with his sawmill five miles southeast of Vermillion. This mill was moved several years later to Norway Township in the same county.⁵¹

The advance of the settlers up the Vermillion Valley into Turner County was followed shortly by the appearance of grist-mills at Centerville and Turner. In the summer of 1871 Andrew Baker started the construction of a grist-mill in the southeastern part of the county a short distance below Centerville. The mill was completed in 1872 with the assistance of a man by the name of Douglas and became known as the Douglas mill. The community was at first called Mattoon but the name was soon changed to Centerville. The mill at Turner was started in 1873 by John W. Turner and his brother William, both of whom were over 70 years of age at the time. These two septuagenarians are said to have made the mill dam without any assistance. The mill was completed in 1875. John W. Turner located at this point in 1871 and set out to build up a town which he called Turner City. The location is near the present town of Davis. Turner made the top of the dam wide enough so as to enable its use as a wagon bridge, said to have been the first bridge over the Vermillion in Turner County. Both these mills were discontinued after the flood of 1881 which washed out the dams. A third mill in Turner County was started at Finlay in 1877 by John Norton and X. Gerken.⁵²

The steady influx of settlers into the Big Sioux Valley, likewise, led to additional milling facilities. Crill and Sar-

⁵⁰ *IBID.*, Nov. 10, 1870; REPORT OF COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, 1870-1, p. 27.

⁵¹ A. T. Andreas, HISTORICAL ATLAS OF DAKOTA, 133; DAKOTA REPUBLICAN, Sept. 5, 1872, Jan. 15, 1874, April 8, 1875; information from Martin Helgeson, Vermillion, S. Dak.

⁵² REPORT OF COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, 1872, pp. 57, 60; Stoddard, 17, 18, 141, 152.

gent were the leading promoters of flouring-mills in this region. Crill was born in Pennsylvania in 1839 and migrated to Iowa where he took up milling as a trade. He came to Dakota for a short time in 1862 and located definitely in Union County in 1868. E. W. Sargent, a native of Vermont, located in the same locality in 1868. The two formed a partnership for the promotion of the milling industry in the Big Sioux Valley. They became the proprietors of the Hotchkiss and Dexter mill in 1870 and were already at that time seeking a site for a second mill on the Big Sioux. Sargent had a store at Richland, and that vicinity was favored at first for the location. A Richland correspondent to the *Union and Dakotian* in December, 1869, stated that company was formed by E. W. Sargent, J. C. Kennedy and Louis N. Crill for the erection of a mill with three run of burrs.⁵³ When Richland's hopes for a railway connection dimmed, these plans were not executed, and Crill and Sargent sought a mill site farther up the river where in 1870 they established the townsite of Freeport on the Iowa side. The name was soon changed to Portland, then Portlandville, and subsequently to Akron. A grist-mill was put into operation in 1871. Some of the timber for the framework came from their sawmill below on the Big Sioux. A village rapidly developed, consisting of a sawmill, a store, and a hotel besides several dwellings.⁵⁴ Crill remained in charge of the Hotchkiss or Big Sioux mill while Sargent managed the Portlandville enterprise. Each maintained a store in conjunction with the mill. A free ferry was run by Sargent to accommodate the settlers on the Dakota side, according to an advertisement in 1872. The mill at Portlandville also drew heavy patronage from the Iowa settlers, some of whom came from within a short distance of Le Mars. The mill originally had but one run of burrs but was later enlarged to three run.⁵⁵

In June, 1875, Crill withdrew from the Portlandville project and revived the plans for a mill at Richland. He

⁵³ *UNION AND DAKOTIAN*, Dec. 23, 1869, March 31, 1870; information furnished by Mrs. Grace Crill, Elk Point, S. Dak.

⁵⁴ *SIoux CITY WEEKLY TIMES*, March 4, 1871.

⁵⁵ *UNION COUNTY COURIER*, Dec. 20, 1871, May 15, June 19, 1872.

took J. D. Wood, his son-in-law, into partnership with him, purchased the Richland mill site and began construction. The citizens of Richland subscribed liberally to a bonus.⁵⁶ The mill was opened to business in 1876. It became known as the Centennial mill. The burrs were of steel instead of stone. This was a marked improvement and produced a better grade of flour, giving the Richland mill a superiority over the older mills that still employed the stone burrs. For this reason, the mill enjoyed an extensive patronage that reached far beyond its immediate vicinity. The connection between Crill and Sargent became completely severed when in April, 1876, Sargent sold his half interest in the Hotchkiss or Big Sioux mill to Crill for \$5,000.⁵⁷ Crill continued to manage the Big Sioux mill until 1878 when he moved to Richland, retaining, however, a half interest in the mill a few years longer. The store at the Big Sioux mill was abandoned in 1875.

Another grist-mill, driven by water power, was established in Union County in 1874 by J. J. Otis. It was located on the river about six miles north of Portlandville on the site of the sawmill previously operated by Hiram Stratton. The supply of timber had become exhausted and Otis converted the sawmill into a grist-mill. A steam mill operating three run of burrs was also established in Elk Point in 1873 by J. W. Hoffman.⁵⁸

The first grist-mill to serve the settlers in the vicinity of Canton in Lincoln County was erected in 1870 at Beloit on the Iowa side where a dam had been built and a sawmill established by Halvor Nelson in 1868. In the spring of 1870 J. A. Carpenter of Beloit, Wisconsin, bought a half interest in Nelson's holdings and at once began the erection of a grist-mill with three run of burrs. The mill began to grind wheat in December, 1870, although it was not completed until the following year. Carpenter changed the name of the locality from Nelsonville to Beloit.⁵⁹

Minnehaha County received its first flouring-mill in 1872

⁵⁶ *IBID.*, July 7, July 21, 1875.

⁵⁷ Union County Deed Record, IV, 332.

⁵⁸ *UNION COUNTY COURIER*, April 30, 1873, Feb. 4, March 25, 1874.

⁵⁹ *SIOUX CITY WEEKLY JOURNAL*, Sept. 29, 1870; information from James M. Wahl.

when Frank Rice who controlled the water power site at Dell Rapids added a grist-mill to his establishment. In 1874 he sold the mill for \$9,000 to William VanEps of Sioux Falls, who improved and enlarged it. The water power at Sioux Falls was put to use for grinding wheat in May, 1873, when the grist-mill of Webber and Hawthorn was opened. The superstructure was of burr oak which was hauled from the gulches along the Vermillion Valley above where the town of Montrose was later located.⁶⁰ This mill passed out of existence during the flood of 1881.

By the latter part of the seventies a number of flouring-mills flourished in the southern part of Dakota Territory. As the area of settlement widened, the newer communities underwent the same evolutionary development as the older sections, and grist-mills appeared along with other establishments to give these frontier communities greater economic stability. In the James River Valley, for instance, three grist-mills were in operation in Hutchinson and Davison counties in 1876 and others made their appearance in due course in adjoining counties. In the upper Big Sioux Valley similar developments were under way at the same time. Additional mills also appeared in the older counties.

The early grist-mills in Dakota Territory were typically frontier enterprises. They were the nuclei of society cells that were reasonably self-contained in their economic structure. In some instances, the grist-mill was the forerunner of other enterprises out of which evolved a distinct trading area serving the economic wants of that community. This was particularly true of the first mills, namely the Hotchkiss or Big Sioux mill and those on the Vermillion at Bloomingdale and Lodi. A store and blacksmith shop, and sometimes a hotel, became companion enterprises. The store and the mill were frequently under the same management. The farmers who patronized the mill became patrons of the other establishments as well. A frontier settlement that could boast a grist-mill enjoyed a distinct advantage. Town-site owners understood this point and eagerly sought the services of millwrights.

⁶⁰ Bailey, HISTORY OF MINNEHAHA COUNTY, 381, 1008; HISTORY OF SOUTHEASTERN DAKOTA, 87, 110; information from K. B. Stoddard.

The trip to the mill was an eventful one for those who had to journey far. It was usually taken twice a year—in early spring and late fall when work on the claim was not pressing. In some cases, three days were required, two for the journey and another waiting for the grist. The wait was whiled away by shopping, visiting and fishing in the mill stream. Some camped near the mill during the trip. Even for those living in close proximity to the mill, the trip at first required an over-night stay. The addition of burrs and other general improvements, however, removed this inconvenience for most patrons, a fact millers were not slow in advertising. In August, 1875, for instance, both E. W. Sargent and Louis N. Crill assured their patrons that grists could be secured within a few hours.⁶¹ Custom work was done at all the mills. The toll decreased as trade expanded and competition developed. During the 1860's the Sioux City mills charged the sixth bushel for grinding. Louis N. Crill ground wheat for the seventh bushel in 1871 and reduced the toll to an eighth bushel the following year.⁶² Where milling facilities were limited, feed grinding was limited to special days, generally Saturdays. Some hand mills, and even wind-driven feed mills, were in use among the early settlers and consequently relieved the early flouring-mills of much of this work. In general, however, little grain was ground for feed during this early period.

The majority of the mills were run by water power. The first steam mills during this period were located in Elk Point, Vermillion and Yankton. These were established in 1872 and 1873 when the Dakota Southern railroad was constructed. These flouring-mills were more distinctly commercial enterprises, although they also did custom work. The coming of the railroad stimulated manufacturing activities, and these steam mills were among the first new industries to make their appearance in these towns. Flour was now definitely manufactured for export trade, and Dakota wheat began to command an extensive market. During the summer of 1873 the Excelsior Mills of Yankton shipped large

⁶¹ Advertisements of Portlandville and Big Sioux mills in UNION COUNTY COURIER, Aug. 18, 25, 1875.

⁶² *IBID.*, Dec. 13, 1871, Aug. 21, 1872.

quantities of flour to the Indian agencies and military posts in the Northwest. Prior to this, very little Dakota flour found a place in government contracts. Flour was also exported to eastern markets, especially to New York and Pennsylvania. Fully two-thirds of the flour manufactured in Yankton in 1874 was shipped out.⁶³ Shortly after this, the opening of the Black Hills gave a further boost to the flouring industry.

In the course of time all these early flouring-mills were forced to shut down. The one built by Crill near Richland at what is now called Riversioux still stands and its water wheel has become a curiosity to the younger generation. This famous landmark is a constant reminder of pioneer days when the local grist-mill played a vital part in the community life. The site of the first mill north of Jefferson is entirely obliterated and nothing remains to indicate the former existence of a small community centered in a grist-mill, store and blacksmith shop. Both the store and blacksmith shop lasted just a few years. Bloomingdale and Lodi survive as mere place names. Whether established in village or country, the grist-mill fell victim to a changing economy. Technological changes and the growing tendency toward concentration and centralization in industry eventually forced most of the local mills in the state out of business. A number of water mills went out of existence in 1881 when the high waters of that year wrought havoc with mill dams and mill structures. These were the first to disappear. A few of the early mills, however, continued to operate until recently for feed grinding.

The early settlers of Dakota Territory had visions of building up great industrial enterprises. At the first legislative session special inducements were offered to industries. Woolen and cotton manufactories were granted exemption from taxation for fifteen and twenty years, and one-half the value of all other manufacturing establishments for a term of five years.⁶⁴ The Territory was considered rich in

⁶³ YANKTON PRESS, Sept. 3, 1873; PRESS AND DAKOTIAN, March 19, 1874.

⁶⁴ GENERAL LAWS . . . OF THE TERRITORY OF DAKOTA, 1862, ch. 40.

water power. Governor William Jayne in his message to the first legislative assembly had said, "The falls on the Big Sioux furnish a motive power sufficient to drive the machinery of the New England mills." A committee of the legislative assembly in 1867-68, referring to the Big Sioux, stated: "It would be speaking within the bounds of truth to say that there might be one mill put in operation on every mile of the river from Sioux Falls to the mouth of the Rock river . . . and in many places I doubt not, even more than one."⁶⁵ Despite the hopes of the settlers, the industrial enterprises during this early period were few in number. Water power was employed only by grist-mills and occasionally by a sawmill. Early enterprises in Yankton were a cigar manufactory in 1865 and a brewery in 1866.⁶⁶ Cheese, sorghum, soap, harness, wagons, furniture and tin ware were other products of local manufacture in the Territory prior to 1874.

With the advent of the railroad the settled portions of Dakota Territory lost much of their frontier character and entered a new stage in their development. Manufacturing activities became more numerous and assumed various forms. The construction of the Dakota Southern in 1872 gave impetus to new activities in the towns on the Missouri slope. In addition to steam flouring-mills, pork packing plants were established to furnish a wider market for farm products. The railroad itself gave rise to a local iron industry. The first iron castings in Dakota Territory were made at Yankton in 1875. A few years later a foundry was established at Vermillion. The Dakota Southern became a customer of both establishments.⁶⁷ Other communities underwent similar developments as soon as they received railroad connections.

⁶⁵ HOUSE JOURNAL, 1867-68, pp. 295, 310.

⁶⁶ UNION AND DAKOTAIAN, May 13, 1865, June 9, 1866.

⁶⁷ PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN, Sept. 20, 1875; DAKOTA REPUBLICAN Jan. 30, 1879.

CONTRIBUTORS

GEORGE PHILIP. Born at Ft. Augustus, Scotland, July 16, 1880. Completed the public school course there and came to the United States. Graduated from the Law School of the University of Michigan in 1906 and has been in active practice since that time. Served as Assistant United States District Attorney for South Dakota from 1914 to 1921; United States District Attorney, 1934-.

HERBERT SAMUEL SCHELL. Professor of American History, University of South Dakota. Graduated from Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania, in 1920. Three years later received his Master's degree from Columbia University. Came to the University of South Dakota in 1925 as Assistant Professor of History. Given leave of absence, 1928-29, during which time he obtained his Ph. D. degree from the University of Wisconsin. In present position since 1934.

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THE DAKOTA SOUTHERN, A FRONTIER RAILWAY VENTURE OF DAKOTA TERRITORY

By Herbert S. Schell

On February 3, 1873, the Dakota Southern railway was opened to traffic connecting Sioux City with Yankton. In this way were the railway hopes and aspirations of the settlers of southeastern Dakota brought to fruition after a decade of intense agitation. Instrumental in the construction of this road was a bonus of \$200,000 in bonds issued in 1872 by Yankton county, then a straggling frontier community of less than 4,000 inhabitants. The obligations assumed so lightly were to plague the taxpayers of Yankton county for forty years. Not until 1913 was the indebtedness incurred by this bonus entirely liquidated. A picture of the circumstances under which this railway project was launched, as well as the subsequent experiences of Yankton county, epitomizes the struggles and efforts of a frontier community compelled to rely on its own resources and its own natural inducements for the encouragement of railway enterprises while neighboring states were enjoying the beneficence of the federal government in the form of lavish land grants.

The early settlements in Dakota Territory were outposts in the advance of the frontier into the upper Missouri river valley. The influx of settlers during the early fifties into the river valleys of eastern Kansas and Nebraska was a primary factor in the organization of two new territories in 1854. Settlers trickled northward, and in 1855, Sioux City made its appearance on the Missouri a few miles below the mouth of the Big Sioux river. By 1858, events were shaping themselves to bring into being new communities along the Missouri and Big Sioux rivers beyond Sioux City. In that year Minnesota Territory was admitted to statehood, leaving unorganized that portion lying between the Missouri river and the western limits of the new state. In the same year a treaty negotiated with the Yankton tribe of Sioux Indians opened to settlement a triangular area formed by the converging Missouri and Big Sioux rivers and a line roughly drawn from Lake Kampeska to Fort Pierre. In

July, 1859, settlers entered the newly ceded area from the Iowa and Nebraska sides. By this time representatives of St. Paul and Dubuque land companies had already located in the valley of the Big Sioux, establishing Sioux Falls City and several town sites farther north. The speculative interests of these settlers in trying to organize a new territory out of the remnants of Minnesota Territory were frustrated. Dakota Territory was created on March 2, 1861, in response to the petitioning of the settlers on the Missouri slope, and the seat of the new territorial government was located at Yankton.

The new settlements of Dakota Territory were directly accessible either by steamboat up the Missouri river or by land conveyance westward from the Mississippi valley. The nearest railway connection in 1861 was St. Joseph, Missouri. The expanse of prairie between the Mississippi and the Missouri in northern Iowa and southern Minnesota was still unoccupied. Plans, however, were definitely under way to pierce this area with rail communications so as to facilitate its settlement and bring the localities in the Missouri valley within easier reach of the trading centers along the Mississippi.

As early as 1856, Congress bestowed land grants upon Iowa to aid in the construction of several railroads projected westward from the Mississippi river. One of the roads was to run from Dubuque to Sioux City. In 1857, similar land grants were accorded several Minnesota projects, one of which was the St. Paul and Sioux City line, designed to connect St. Paul with a point near the Big Sioux in the southwestern part of the state. As the country passed out of the depression following the panic of 1857, and with the plans for a transcontinental railroad receiving Congressional support in 1862, in the chartering of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, a veritable railroad mania again seized the Mississippi valley in the revival of old projects and the launching of new ones.

The settlements along the Missouri in Dakota Territory expressed a keen interest in the launching of the Union

Pacific project. A section of the Union Pacific law authorizing a branch from Sioux City anticipated a connection for the transcontinental line with the several roads headed toward the Missouri from the upper Mississippi valley. This provision in itself was certain to give fresh impetus to the projects started in 1856 and 1857, so as to insure, eventually, for the Dakota settlements a connection with St. Paul and Chicago. Of more immediate concern, however, was the possibility of constructing the Sioux City branch westward to a connection with the Union Pacific line by way of the sparsely settled Missouri valley in Dakota.

The legislative assembly of Dakota Territory convening for its first session in March, 1862, showed a practical mindedness that augured well for the future. While the Union Pacific Railroad bill was still pending in the Senate, the "pony legislature" at Yankton on May 14, 1862, incorporated the Missouri and Niobrara Valley Railroad Company. The route designated for this local project was to start from a point on the Big Sioux river where a railroad from Dubuque would reach that river, thence it was to follow the Missouri river through the settlements to the Niobrara river valley and up it "in order to reach, by the shortest and most practicable route, the South pass of the Rocky mountains."¹ Included in the list of forty-two incorporators were two stockholders of the Union Pacific Company, two Congressmen, and all but one of the members of the legislature.

The incorporators met at Yankton on November 8, 1862, for purposes of organization. A committee was appointed to collect, prepare, and furnish information relative to a route from Sioux City to South Pass via the Niobrara valley. Surveyor-General George D. Hill was selected as special agent to present the information and urge the advantages of the local route before the Union Pacific Railroad Company and

¹ GENERAL LAWS . . . OF THE TERRITORY OF DAKOTA, 1862 (Yankton, 1862). Private Laws, chapter 19, pp. 21-23. Governor William Jayne, in his message to the legislature on March 17, contended that the only feasible route from Chicago to the Pacific was by way of Sioux City through Dakota Territory to the South Pass, and urged a memorial to Congress advocating such a route. COUNCIL JOURNAL OF THE FIRST LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE TERRITORY OF DAKOTA, 1862 (Yankton, 1862), 23. The developments at Washington, however, changed the status of the Pacific Railroad question and the legislature turned its attention to the prospective northern branch.

the proper committee of Congress.² The residents of Dakota naturally considered their route the only one suitable for the northern connection with the Union Pacific. The law incorporating the Union Pacific, however, designated the hundredth meridian as the junction point for the Sioux City branch, and, moreover, required the Union Pacific corporation to construct the branch. The legislative assembly of Dakota Territory memorialized Congress in 1863 and 1864 to change the Act of 1862 so as to run the branch over the Niobrara route.³

On July 2, 1864, Congress made a number of changes in the original law. Among them was a provision empowering the President to designate at his discretion a company other than the Union Pacific to construct the Sioux City branch. This company was to receive a land grant of ten alternate sections and a government loan of \$16,000 for each mile. The railroad was to follow "the most direct and practicable route" to such a point on the main line as the company might select. There was no mandatory junction point. Railway influences from Iowa are plainly discernible in the shaping of this provision. Construction on the branch was to begin "whenever a line of railroad shall be completed through the States of Iowa, or Minnesota, to Sioux City."⁴

The changed status of the Sioux City branch instilled new vigor into the Missouri and Niobrara Valley Railroad Company. The directors at a meeting at Yankton on November 17, 1864, decided to open subscription books for the company at various places, including Chicago, Detroit, New York, and Washington. Surveyor-General Hill was made subscription agent. Public interest in the territory became aroused, and steps were taken to apply to President Lincoln for the designation of the company chartered by the Dakota legislature.⁵

² George W. Kingsbury, *HISTORY OF DAKOTA TERRITORY* (Chicago, 1915), I, 598-599; Moses K. Armstrong, *SCRAPBOOK*, I, 1. The historical materials preserved by Armstrong are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul. The volume by Armstrong, *THE EARLY EMPIRE BUILDERS OF THE GREAT WEST* (St. Paul, 1901) is a compilation of these materials.

³ *GENERAL LAWS . . . OF THE TERRITORY OF DAKOTA, 1862-63*, pp. 273-277; *IBID.*, 1863-64, pp. 112-113.

⁴ *CONG. GLOBE*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., 2403; *STATUTES AT LARGE*, XIII, 356.

⁵ Kingsbury, I, 599, 600; Yankton *UNION AND DAKOTA*, November 19, 1864. The *UNION AND DAKOTA* reported on July 22, 1865, that \$2,000,000 had been subscribed to the capital stock.

These activities, however, were doomed to early failure. Rival interests in Iowa proved too powerful. The railroad capitalists building the several lines across Iowa readily foresaw the possibilities of the situation. Here was a chance to construct a branch of their own lines and make the cities of St. Paul and Sioux City tributary to their own interests. And by no means to be considered least was the opportunity to receive the land bounty and the government loan. Thus was conceived a project to connect Sioux City with the line constructed to Council Bluffs by the Cedar Rapids and Missouri River Railroad Company (or the Chicago and Northwestern line) at a point near the town of Missouri Valley and then build a short line from this junction into Nebraska to Fremont on the Union Pacific. The projected road was for a total distance of nearly a hundred miles to run in the form of an ox-bow with its terminus just five miles west of a north and south line drawn through Sioux City. The group contrived to reach the ear of President Lincoln, who on December 24 proclaimed the selection of the Sioux City and Pacific Railroad Company as the corporation to construct and operate the Sioux City branch of the Union Pacific.⁶

The promoters of the Missouri and Niobrara Valley project felt outraged. Their subscription agent was in the midst of his labors in the eastern cities and was transmitting very rosy reports of progress, only to have all his efforts now threatened with complete defeat. The legislative assembly of Dakota Territory expressed strong protests, charging that the selection of the new project was destructive of the economic interests of the several roads headed for the northwestern boundary of Iowa inasmuch as goods billed for points beyond the Rockies would have to be shipped 200 miles farther under the circumstances. The legislature further denounced the designation of the Sioux City and Pacific Railroad as a palpable violation of the spirit and evident intention of the law creating the Sioux City branch, since a line constructed southeasterly from Sioux City to

⁶ LETTER OF THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, COMMUNICATING . . . COPIES OF ALL DOCUMENTS, PAPERS, AND MAPS RELATING TO THE BRANCH OF THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD FROM SIOUX CITY, IOWA, in SENATE EX. DOCS., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 14, pp. 3-8.

which, though based upon sound scientific truth, has been so thoroughly and so completely misunderstood, that it has become a source of confusion and error to the general public. The author of this book, who is a well-known and successful writer, has endeavored to present a clear and concise account of the subject, and to show the reader the true nature of the thing, and the reasons why it is so misunderstood. He has done this in a way which is both interesting and instructive, and which will be found to be of great value to all who are interested in the subject. The book is written in a simple and straightforward manner, and is free from all technicalities and abstractions. It is a book which every one can read and understand, and which will be found to be of great interest and value to all who are interested in the subject.

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Missouri Valley would hardly fulfill the original intent to shorten the time and distance to California from the upper Missouri and Mississippi valley regions. The Minnesota legislature voiced similar protests.⁷

Influences, both financial and political, were brought into play in the effort to save the Niobrara Valley project. Railway interests enlisted by the company in the campaign for funds could naturally be relied upon for support. Political connections lay also within reach. Numerous positions in Dakota Territory had been filled with Michigan appointees. This political affinity now served Dakota well. Governor Newton Edmunds and Surveyor-General Hill, the respective president and subscription agent of the Dakota corporation, were both former residents of Michigan. They accordingly sought and found a champion of their cause in Senator Jacob M. Howard of Michigan, the chairman of the Senate Committee on the Pacific Railroad. Through the efforts of the chairman, this committee in April, 1866, reported favorably a bill to rescind the order of President Lincoln designating the Sioux City and Pacific Railroad Company. The sole purpose of this action was to void the special rights and privileges granted to the Iowa corporation and bestow them upon the Yankton company. Surveyor-General Hill was sufficiently conspicuous during the session to have his lobbying activities injected into the discussion of the bill. Senator Howard led the forces in the attack on the validity of Lincoln's action while Senator James W. Grimes of Iowa rose to the defense of the honor and integrity of the Sioux City and Pacific corporation.⁸

All these efforts to rescind Lincoln's decision, however, failed. The Sioux City and Pacific road, accordingly, became the authorized northern branch of the Union Pacific, securing to itself the much coveted federal bounty. With the passing of what had appeared to be a golden opportunity for the Dakota settlements, the enterprising railway boosters of Dakota Territory abandoned their promotion of the Niobrara Valley project for other schemes.

⁷ See memorial of Dakota Territory and joint resolution of Minnesota legislature passed January 12 and February 2, 1865, respectively. SEN. EX. DOCS., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 14, pp. 12-17.

⁸ CONG. GLOBE, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 472, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1960.

At the very time that the Niobrara Valley project was receiving its death knell, the region of the upper Missouri was all astir as a result of the gold discoveries in Montana and Idaho. The most practical avenues of communication lay directly through Dakota Territory. Congress during the session of 1865-1866 authorized the surveying and construction of three wagon roads which would connect Minnesota and Iowa with the gold fields. Indian hostilities subsequently, however, were to foil this ambitious program. In the meantime, the Missouri river was becoming the scene of feverish activities. Thirty-one steamboats docked at Fort Benton in 1866, in sharp contrast with the few boats that were churning the muddy waters of the Missouri annually above Sioux City before 1864.⁹

The inhabitants of southeastern Dakota sensed vast possibilities in this situation. Yankton had a good natural harbor and lay athwart what was regarded the most direct route from Iowa and southern Minnesota to the mines. Moreover, such an overland route would skirt the Black Hills whither Yankton had been casting longing eyes. One of the three wagon roads had, in fact, been expected to reach the mineral fields beyond the forks of the Big Cheyenne. Here was Dakota's opportunity to open up the Black Hills and insure for herself transportation connections with her neighbors to the east. This double objective, accordingly, became Yankton's pre-occupation, born of the gold fever then gripping the country.

The railway that loomed so promisingly on the horizon for Yankton was the Southern Minnesota project which Congress favored with a land grant in July, 1866. Originally framed as the La Crescent, Rochester, and Yankton Railroad Company, its western terminus was fixed at the Dakota boundary line as Congress refused to grant aid beyond Minnesota. To gain a better position as a suppliant for aid, the Dakota settlers organized the Minnesota and Missouri River Railroad Company on February 26, 1867. The company

⁹ Harold E. Briggs, "Pioneer River Transportation in Dakota," in *NORTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY* (Bismarck, 1926-1933), III (1929), 160.

opened its subscription books in April and had a preliminary survey made to the Minnesota line in August.¹⁰

With reference to the Black Hills, actual exploration and prospecting were contemplated. In the spring of 1867, plans for a local expedition were halted by peremptory orders from the military authorities. A second expedition scheduled to leave Yankton during the summer of 1868 suffered the same setback during its inception. The organizer of the latter was Captain P. B. Davy of Blue Earth City, Minnesota, who the previous season had successfully led an emigrant train overland to Montana from Fort Abercrombie.¹¹ Peace negotiations with the Sioux were under way at this time, and the Yankton inhabitants were sanguinely assuming that the Black Hills area would be definitely placed outside the limits of any Indian reservation. When the terms of the negotiations became known, consternation reigned at the territorial capital. A decision was at once reached to make strong remonstrances to Congress so as to secure a modification of the treaty.

At the same time, steps were taken to secure support from other communities, especially in Minnesota. Moses K. Armstrong, a Yankton resident, was dispatched on such a mission in January, 1868. A better representative could not have been chosen. In Armstrong, as secretary and general agent of the prospective Davy expedition to the Black Hills and as the president of the Minnesota and Missouri River project, the interests at stake in this matter were peculiarly intertwined. Moreover, he had influential connections in Minnesota where one brother was serving as lieutenant-governor while a second was intimately identified with the Southern Minnesota Railroad. In Chicago, while enroute to St. Paul, Armstrong saw to it that his cause was given proper publicity. The Chicago "Times" in its issue of January 27, mentioning his presence in the city, referred to the proposed new overland route through southern Minnesota and Dakota and the consequent extension of the

¹⁰ UNION AND DAKOTAIAN, March 9, 30, August 24, 1867. The company was chartered January 11. GENERAL LAWS . . . OF DAKOTA, 1866-7, Private and Special Laws, chapter 4.

¹¹ Kingsbury, I, 870-871.

Southern Minnesota Railroad. The interest shown in these projects and the confident assertion that Chicago would reap the whole trade, not only of the new mineral field in Dakota but of all northern Montana, suggest the thorough promoter in Armstrong.¹²

The Minnesota legislature was in session upon his arrival at St. Paul the following month. The editor of the Minneapolis "Tribune" mentioned a call from the Yankton visitor who gave him a graphic picture of the Missouri river traffic, at first controlled by St. Louis and now in the state of being gobbled up by Chicago. The editor assuringly added, "Steps have already been taken by our legislature to strike the trade of the Upper Missouri at that point [Yankton], and make it tributary to this state, first by wagon road, and eventually by rail communication."¹³ Even before Armstrong's arrival the St. Paul lawmakers memorialized Congress to remove the Indians from the Black Hills region and make it available to the needs of the white man. They also asked Congress, in line with memorials from Dakota Territory, to grant land toward the construction of a railroad from the Minnesota state line to the Missouri river at Yankton.¹⁴

Yankton's hope of success through the enlistment of Minnesota's help was doomed to disappointment. The Black Hills were definitely closed to the whites under the Treaty of 1868. The land grant was not forthcoming despite Minnesota's sympathies. The Minnesota railway project was kept alive for several years to be then entirely abandoned.

Yankton's best bet for a railroad lay in the direction of Sioux City. The latter became assured of a railway connection through the Sioux City and Pacific enterprise, and it was naturally only a question of time until there would be an extension up the Missouri valley tapping the Dakota settlements. Fully awake to this possibility, citizens of

¹² Armstrong, SCRAPBOOK, I, 112.

¹³ Minneapolis TRIBUNE, February 22; UNION AND DAKOTAIAN, March 7, 1868.

¹⁴ SEN. MISC. DOCS., 40 Cong., 2 Sess., Nos. 26 and 54. The Minnesota memorials were almost identical with those of the Dakota legislature. At the same time the Wisconsin legislature was urging its representatives in Congress to vote for the Dakota land grant bill. GENERAL LAWS . . . OF WISCONSIN, 1868 (Madison, 1868), Joint Resolution No. 4, p. 211.

Dakota Territory and Sioux City organized the Dakota and Northwestern Railroad Company, receiving a charter from the Dakota legislature in January, 1867. The inclusion of John I. Blair among the incorporators indicates the link with the Sioux City and Pacific. Following the organization of the company, a preliminary survey was made from the Big Sioux river to Yankton in November, preparatory to a petition to Congress for a land grant.¹⁵ It was not the purpose of this corporation to build and equip the road; its avowed functions were to build up vested corporate rights, secure Congressional aid and induce railroad capitalists to take over the franchise.

During the latter part of 1869, a move was made in Sioux City to utilize the valuable franchise of the Dakota and Northwestern Company, and make a connection up the Missouri valley to a point of intersection with the projected Northern Pacific road. Controlling interests in the Union Pacific were the sponsors. James F. Wilson, formerly a member of Congress from Iowa, and General G. M. Dodge, well-known railway promoter, paid a visit to the Dakota settlements during the month of October, holding a public meeting and conferring with the officers of the Dakota and Northwestern. After a favorable reception, they returned to Sioux City where they incorporated the Missouri Valley Railroad Company. A contract was drawn up with the Dakota corporation whereby the latter transferred its franchise to the Missouri Valley Company "upon the conditions that a survey of the road be made, and one mile of grading be completed by the 1st day of September, 1870, and the whole road completed and in running order from Sioux City, Iowa, to Yankton, Dakota Territory, by the 1st day of September, 1871."¹⁶

The Dakota promoters naturally anticipated much from such an auspicious alliance. S. L. Spink, the territorial delegate, continued the routine of plying Congress with a request for a land subsidy, reporting to his constituents that

¹⁵ UNION AND DAKOTAIAN, August 31, November 23, 1867; February 1, 1868; Kingsbury, I, 601,604. The distance from Yankton to the Big Sioux bridge above Sioux City is 57 miles.

¹⁶ UNION AND DAKOTAIAN, November 11, 1869; Kingsbury, I, 606. The Sioux City and Pacific road was opened to traffic in March, 1868.

material aid from Wilson and General Dodge was attending his efforts.¹⁷ The Iowa corporation undertook to comply with the terms of the contract. It sent a corps of surveyors into the field to run the final survey during July and August and awarded a contract to grade the first mile. The grading was made at Elk Point by September 1. This was the first railway grade constructed in Dakota Territory.¹⁸ The influences at Washington were powerful enough to pilot successfully through the Senate a bill granting to the Dakota and Northwestern Railroad Company ten alternate sections of land on either side of the road from the Big Sioux river via Yankton and the valley of the Dakota or James river to the northern boundary line of Dakota Territory. The bill passed the Senate on June 13, 1870. Senator James B. Howell of Iowa was its sponsor.¹⁹ The House, however, never accepted the bill.

The arrangement with the Missouri Valley Railroad Company was not entirely satisfactory. Chief opposition must be attributed to the natural antipathy and jealousy which Yankton felt towards Sioux City. Anxious as the Dakota metropolis was for railroad facilities, it very much preferred a more direct connection with the Mississippi valley than the Sioux City route offered. Such desires, however, were to run counter to the economic interests of Elk Point and Vermillion, located on a direct line of communication between Yankton and Sioux City. Moreover, these towns were centers in agricultural communities whereas Yankton sought more to exploit its natural advantages as a trading center on the Missouri river. Without a proper appreciation of this diversity of interests between the settlements along the Missouri, the railroad history of this early period would be unintelligible.

The Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad was finally reaching western Iowa. A new town was laid out at Le Mars in the fall of 1869, at the junction point on the Sioux City and

¹⁷ SIOUX CITY WEEKLY TIMES, February 19, March 5, April 2, 1870.

¹⁸ UNION AND DAKOTAIAN, July 21, 28, August 25, 1870. The grading contract was awarded to George Stickney, chief engineer for the Dakota and Northwestern Company.

¹⁹ CONG. GLOBE, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., 4386. The bill differed from previous land grant acts by fixing \$2.50 as the average price at which the land could be sold by the railway company.

St. Paul road, and the following spring traffic was opened with Sioux City over the Sioux City and St. Paul line. Of tremendous interest to Yankton was the leasing of the Dubuque and Sioux City road by the Illinois Central. The latter company was supposedly interested in taking the trade of the upper Missouri away from the Chicago and Northwestern Company, then controlling the only railway connection in Sioux City. A written communication from the executive of the Illinois Central relative to railway matters in the territory led to a public meeting at Yankton on September 4, 1869, to consider a course of action. A committee was appointed to consult with railroad men in Chicago and other eastern cities.²⁰

The year 1870 expired and the railroad connection was not any nearer to reality. Without special inducements railway builders showed no interest. Land grants lavished upon corporations in other frontier areas were being denied to the southeastern part of Dakota. On March 1, 1871, a motion in Congress to consider the Senate bill to give aid to the Dakota and Northwestern mustered only thirty votes.²¹ Business interests in Yankton were becoming frantic. In their desperation they resolved to initiate a plan calculated to bring results. They proposed to tender the credit of the community as a subsidy. Still unwilling to play second fiddle to Sioux City, they organized a company all their own. On March 17, 1871, the Dakota Southern Railway Company was formed. Not a single incorporator resided in either Clay or Union county. It was fully intended to make Le Mars the Iowa terminus. Uncertain, however, of the support of the Illinois Central in the enterprise, the exact crossing on the Big Sioux was left undetermined in the articles of incorporation, leaving the company free to connect with Sioux City if necessary.

Events now began to move rapidly. Immediate steps were taken to proffer material aid to the Yankton project.

²⁰ UNION AND DAKOTAIAN, September 25, 1869. During the summer of 1869, much interest was aroused at Yankton by visits of railway dignitaries and surveyors representing the McGregor and Western Railway Company, soon to become a part of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul. This company proposed to enter the territory at Canton on the Big Sioux river. Nothing came of this project at this time. Kingsbury, I, 604-605.

²¹ CONG. GLOBE, 41 Cong., 3 Sess., 1812.

The legislature had adjourned previously, not to meet again for nearly two years. A committee of the inner circle, accordingly, requested a special session of the legislature "for the purpose of considering the propriety of passing an act to authorize the people of the several counties to issue bonds to aid in the construction of railroads and for other purposes." In the absence of Governor John A. Burbank, the Secretary of the Territory, George A. Batchelder, reconvened the legislative body on April 18. To dispel any doubt as to the legality of the special session, Governor Burbank got into communication with Washington. The day the lawmakers assembled the following telegraphic message was received: "The attorney general is of opinion that the extra session is authorized." On the third day of the session, authority was granted to organized counties and townships to vote aid.²²

On the fourth day at the moment of final adjournment, the session was thrown into consternation. A correction of the telegraphic message from Washington read "unauthorized," thus casting an atmosphere of illegality on everything that had been done. The error was made in transmission from Omaha. Undaunted by the news, the legislature calmed down and concluded its work with a memorial asking Congress to legalize the unauthorized session and its proceedings. No inconsiderable satisfaction was derived from the situation. "The Yankton legislators and citizens joined with the visiting members in deploring the outrage committed by the unknown telegraph operator, but there was so little body to their expression of regret, that they were accused of shedding 'crocodile tears'."²³ The editor of the Yankton "Press" on April 26, expressed the prevailing thought: "There can scarcely be a doubt that Congress will promptly legalize the action of the Legislature when

²² Kingsbury, I. 619-621.

²³ IBID., I. 623. The interesting question arises, What would the legislature have done had the original telegraphic message been correct? Kingsbury, p. 605, suggests the answer: "... There seemed an almost unanimous voice in favor of resorting to it [the subsidy] if a market could be found for the bonds. In connection with the proposition it was currently reported that where the bonds were issued by authority of a vote of the people interested, the courts would sustain their validity, notwithstanding the lack of express authority in the organic act, and so it proved."

it meets again in December, as the entire work was based upon a supposed favorable opinion of the Attorney General and was undoubtedly calculated to benefit the Territory."

Thus was taken the first momentous step in the launching of the Dakota Southern project. The entire proceedings of the questionable session were dominated by Yankton interests. There is no record of the vote cast although evidence came to hand later that only one member from Yankton opposed the legislation. The representatives of the other counties assumed no responsibility or obligations for their constituents. Action was definitely limited to organized counties and townships. There was to be no resort to a territorial subsidy. The representatives from Union county had been definitely instructed at an Elk Point mass meeting not to commit their county to a policy of lending aid in its corporate capacity.²⁴

Notwithstanding the dubious character of the legislation, the promoters of the Dakota Southern confidently set to work. At a meeting in Yankton on May 6, subscriptions for shares were received, payable in real estate, labor, or supplies. In the meantime, a committee was energetically interviewing construction companies in Chicago, New York, and other eastern cities. Upon its return to Yankton in August, it strongly advised the holding of a county election for the purpose of voting bonds. An election for this purpose was, accordingly, called for September 2. The proposition before the voters of Yankton county was the donation of \$200,000 of twenty year bonds at eight per cent interest. The question carried by a vote of 542 to 126. About two-thirds of the voters participated. In the city of Yankton 463 favored the bonds while 59 were in opposition.²⁵

There was still some uncertainty over the selection of the route. Ever hopeful of a connection with Le Mars so as to leave Sioux City out of the picture, the Yankton interests had a reconnaissance made to the Big Sioux in the direction of Le Mars. They also succeeded during the sum-

²⁴ Kingsbury, I, 621; Sioux City WEEKLY TIMES, April 22, 1871.

²⁵ Yankton PRESS, May 10, August 30, September 6, 1871; Kingsbury, I, 623-625.

mer in soliciting the support of the business men of Le Mars.²⁶ Along the Missouri slope, however, discord was marring the course of railway matters. Even in Yankton local bickering prevented unanimity of feeling. Subscription books had been sent to Clay and Union counties but for some reason no subscriptions had been solicited. Not a single share of stock had been taken up to October. At Vermillion, headquarters for the Dakota and Northwestern Company, steps were actually taken in October to vote \$60,000 of Clay county bonds in aid of that project. The Dakota Southern interests deeply resented this move, coming as it did after the Yankton county election. They were, accordingly, much relieved when the voters of Clay county refused to grant bonds on November 11, by the overwhelming vote of 168 for and 601 against.²⁷ Naturally, the bond project suffered defeat, so commented the Yankton "Press" in its issue of November 15—the wrong company was the suitor.

By this time, however, developments were under way to harmonize all the rival interests. On October 13, an understanding was reached with Sioux City interests whereby track rights might be procured by the Dakota Southern over the Sioux City and Pembina road that was projected up the Big Sioux to a connection with the Northern Pacific. Representatives of the Illinois Central were also present at this important conference. This assured a connection with Sioux City. Armed with this support, the representatives of the Dakota Southern continued to Chicago. There, after a little delay occasioned by the Chicago fire, they concluded on October 24 an agreement with the Chicago construction firm of Wicker, Meckling and Company for the construction of a railroad from Yankton to either Sioux City or Le Mars as the company might select. The final obstacle was removed on December 11, when the Dakota Southern secured

²⁶ *IBID.*, I, 618.

²⁷ Yankton PRESS, September 27, October 11, 18, November 22, 1871. The suggestion by Kingsbury, p. 628, that the Clay county vote was taken on the Dakota and Northwestern project because of the hope that it would command greater support rather than out of animosity toward the Dakota Southern, is not borne out by the contemporary newspaper sources.

a perpetual lease of the Dakota and Northwestern franchise.²⁸

Actual work in construction was not begun until June, 1872. The construction company would not undertake the venture without the assurance that the bonds tendered gratuitously by Yankton county were marketable. Congress was, accordingly, asked to validate the work of the special legislative session. This was substantially done by a measure approved May 27, 1872. What transpired under the law was legalized without validating the law itself. Any bonds voted in accordance with the invalidated measure were thus clothed with legality. An important change, however, was made in the character of the bonus. The bonds were not to be a gratuity but the railroad company was required to give the counties paid up certificates of stock for the full value of the bonds.²⁹ On June 12, 1872, Yankton county turned over to Wicker, Meckling and Company \$100,000 of its railroad bonds, not until, however, four of its citizens became guarantors for the company for the amount involved.³⁰

The Dakotans had fully expected favorable action from Congress. The "carpetbag" officials foisted upon the territory by the Grant administration were not without their compensating attributes at this moment. The powerful Oliver P. Morton of Indiana had secured the governorship for his brother-in-law, John A. Burbank; Senator Hannibal Hamlin of Maine had sent out a son-in-law, George A. Batchelder, to be the territorial secretary. Burbank prided himself on his political connections and became the chief lobbyist for Dakota. He spent six whole weeks in Washington, and assured his constituents that he personally saved the bill from a violent death on several occasions. The best evidence of Burbank's effectiveness before Congress was a change in the western terminus of the Dakota Southern from Yankton to

²⁸ Sioux City WEEKLY TIMES, October 14, 21, 1871; Yankton PRESS, December 12, 1871; Kingsbury, I, 618, 619, 626. Kingsbury charges that Sioux City selfishly opposed an extension to Yankton until the Le Mars route threatened to become a reality. The Sioux City opposition, he alleges, then dissuaded the Illinois Central from cooperating with Le Mars so as to force Yankton to go to Sioux City.

²⁹ STATUTES AT LARGE, XVII, 162.

³⁰ Kingsbury, I, 630-632. Grading started at both ends of the road in June. The first spike was driven on August 29. The remainder of the bonds were released in December.

Bon Homme county where he had secured for himself valuable town site interests. He soon was to become a director of the railway company in whose cause he labored. Both Morton and Hamlin proved to be devoted champions of Dakota's cause in the Senate. Senator Hamlin had, in fact, while on a visit to Dakota the preceding autumn pledged his support toward the construction of the railway; Dakota's senator, the territorial press dubbed him. The Indiana senator pleaded for the equity in the bill; the company, he claimed, had gone forward in good faith and contracted debts in actual construction.³¹ Urgent was the cause and little apparently did it matter to the Senate that the construction had been deferred.

The railroad interests, after a sample of the public spirited attitude of the Yankton voters, felt confident that the two lower counties—Clay and Union—would follow suit. They concentrated their efforts first on Union county bordering on the Big Sioux. It was highly desirable to begin construction at the Iowa line because of cheaper construction costs out of Sioux City. After several months of parleying, the construction company in April made clear what it wanted. Elk Point township was to raise \$15,000, and the town of Elk Point an additional \$5,000. There was such strong sentiment against aid that it was considered too hazardous to risk a vote by the entire county on the proposition. A court order was even necessary to compel the county commissioners to call an election in Elk Point township.

Wicker, Meckling and Company put all their cards on the table. In a notice inserted in the "Union County Courier" on April 24, 1872, the construction firm stated:

We have only to say that if you want us to build a railroad through your township, you must give us some encouragement to do so, or we will be compelled to go elsewhere; notwithstanding some persons say our charter requires us to run through this place. * * * We do not wish you to understand the above as a threat, for we are asking no more of you than is customary, and no more than a fair offset for equal advantages to

³¹ CONG. GLOBE, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., 2836, 2838, 3356, 3743; Yankton PRESS, September 20, 1871, June 12, 1872.

be had elsewhere—our only object being to show to the people, that this is to them a question of railroad, or no railroad; so that all may act understandingly.

The voters were frankly informed that unless bonds were voted the railroad would continue for fifteen or twenty miles up the Big Sioux river over the projected Sioux City and Pembina line, instead of leaving it at the Big Sioux bridge five miles out of Sioux City. The company further made it clear that private subscriptions in lieu of bonds were unacceptable since collection could not be enforced. At the election held on May 1, there were 152 votes cast in favor of bonds and 95 against. The bonds were to run for ten years at the rate of ten per cent interest. The pledge given by the Elk Point business men to have the town donate \$5,000 toward the erection of a depot building was carried out later. The town was incorporated by the legislature the following January, and on May 16, 1873, the proposition carried at a special election with only one vote in the negative.³²

The vote in Clay county was taken on September 7, 1872. Clay county was asked to issue \$80,000 in twenty year bonds, bearing eight per cent interest. In support of bonds were recited the usual arguments of increased property values, increased business activity, and high tax returns from the railroad property. Clay county, however, did not have the same stakes that the voters in the other counties did when the decision had to be made. The railroad was being built and was bound to go through the county. Aside from this feeling, many were averse to a bond issue on principle, remembering railway bond swindles in eastern states in days gone by. The results of the election were not at all surprising. Only 63 favored bonds while 762 were in opposition. In one voting district in the county two votes

³² UNION COUNTY COURIER (Elk Point), January 31, March 20, April 3, 10, 17, 24, May 1, 8, 1872, May 21, 1873; Kingsbury, I, 628-629. The Sioux City and Pembina Railroad Company, which was incorporated September 8, 1870, constructed the road to the Big Sioux river bridge, and the Dakota Southern furnished the rolling stock. The citizens of Sioux City voted a special tax upon their property to raise a bonus in aid of the construction to the bridge. SIOUX CITY WEEKLY JOURNAL, June 20, 1873. The Sioux City and Pembina road was later constructed up the Big Sioux on the Iowa side, was consolidated with the Dakota Southern in 1879, and in 1881, made a part of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul system.

were cast for bonds and 283 against. Some help, however, was furnished by the citizens of Vermillion who raised by subscription the sum of \$4,000 for a depot building, procured the right of way through the county, and gave the company, in addition, 150 city lots.³³

The contest in Clay county, as well as that at Elk Point, clearly indicated that the farming element was very hostile to the idea of bonds. Decidedly in the majority, the farmers of these two counties were in a position to protect what they considered their economic interests. In Yankton county, on the other hand, as its vote indicates, the farming classes were not yet numerous enough to wrest control from the business men of the capital, and the farmers were accordingly made subservient to the interests of Yankton.

The settlements along the Missouri slope in Dakota Territory thus by the early part of 1873 achieved their objective after eleven years of tireless effort. The iron horse was now upon them, followed in its wake by numerous homesteaders. The improved marketing facilities became a tremendous stimulus to agricultural production. In the towns, especially in the metropolis and capital, the sought-for business boom took place. Despite the vicissitudes and hardships in consequence of several years of grasshopper devastations, a new era had dawned for this part of the territory. Yankton, moreover, found the railway a veritable boon. The railway made it a prominent river port on the upper Missouri for nearly a decade, a position jealously clung to until subsequent railroad building doomed the river traffic. The railroad facilities at Yankton were directly responsible for the large volume of traffic that passed through the Dakota capital during the Black Hills gold rush.

The obligations assumed by Yankton county in behalf of the Dakota Southern were staggering. Was the action taken in contracting the indebtedness justifiable? The question is a relative one and must be considered in the light of circumstances in which this frontier community was finding

³³ CLAY COUNTY REGISTER (Vermillion), September 7, 21, 1872, January 30, February 13, 27, 1873; Yankton PRESS, September 18, 25, 1872. The feeling over the bond question was very intense. Placards appeared in Vermillion before the election bearing the warning: "Vermillion, if you vote railroad bonds, we will burn you."

itself. Pulsating with the same buoyant spirits that imbue all frontier undertakings, this locality was chafing under slow progress in attaining the role it sought. Liberal land legislation was not sufficient to attract to it the population required to fill up the interior of the country. Other frontier localities were the recipients of federal land grants and were thus assured of growth while Dakota was suffered to lag. Unfortunately for the Dakotans, their most plausible claims for a land bounty were belated. The rest of the country was beginning to question the wisdom of the whole policy of subsidizing railway corporations, and Congress in response began to turn a deaf ear to the frontier calls for assistance.

Whether a railway corporation would have been willing to build to Yankton at this time without any aid, either local or federal, is a matter of conjecture. The settlements along the Missouri did not extend much beyond Yankton, and the local traffic was hardly of sufficient volume to attract speculative enterprise. The river traffic which Yankton was able to wrest away from Sioux City was a result rather than a motivating factor in the promotion of the railroad beyond Sioux City, and was not strong enough a lure for railway capitalists. Without the local aid, railway building into the southern part of Dakota Territory undoubtedly would have been deferred. The panic of 1873, which fell upon the country shortly after the Dakota Southern began its operations, temporarily suspended all railway construction. Not until 1878, when the railroads through southern Minnesota and northern Iowa were reaching its eastern border, was southern Dakota to secure additional railroad facilities. And even then the corporations undertaking the construction were to demand privileges in the form of special tax legislation before they consented to build in advance of settlement.³⁴

The subsequent history of the railroad bonds issued by Yankton county remains for consideration. By virtue of the

³⁴ The Dakota legislature on February 18, 1879, at the request of railway corporations, passed a measure imposing upon railway property a gross income tax of two per cent for the first five years and three per cent thereafter in lieu of the personal property tax. LAWS . . . OF DAKOTA TERRITORY, 1879, chapter 46. The only railroads receiving land grants in Dakota Territory were the Northern Pacific and the Winona and St. Peters, a branch of the Chicago and Northwestern, which in 1872 completed its line to Lake Kampeska near Watertown, South Dakota, to qualify for a land grant granted Minnesota Territory in 1857. The Winona and St. Peters did not operate until 1878.

legislation passed by Congress, Yankton county became, next to the construction company, the largest single stockholder in the railway company and, accordingly, claimed an interest in the management of the road. In recognition of the county's peculiar relationship one of the county commissioners was regularly given a place on the board of directors. Shortly after the railroad was put into operation in 1873, some misunderstanding developed between the Dakota Southern and the county over a proposal to mortgage the road for \$1,200,000. The county board at once sought to restrain action on the plea that the mortgaging would render the county's stock worthless. Public sentiment against the railroad was intensified by charges that the company had failed to put up repair shops and make certain other improvements insuring employment to Yankton inhabitants, as promised when the county bonds were issued, but had instead bestowed the favors upon Sioux City at the other end of the road. After considerable bitterness was engendered by the litigation, a satisfactory arrangement was concluded in October. Yankton county agreed to withdraw its suit to restrain the company from mortgaging the road, and the company on its part put up a surety bond promising to make Yankton its headquarters and to erect within eighteen months machine shops, and other necessary buildings including a depot and roundhouse.³⁵ This case closed the litigation between the county and the Dakota Southern Railroad Company, and the courts had no further occasion to adjudicate between these parties.³⁶

There was a third party to acquire a profound interest in the status of the railway bonds issued by Yankton county. This was the group of investors who ultimately held the

³⁵ Kingsbury, I, 631, 635-639; Yankton PRESS, October 22, 29, November 5, 1873. A climax to the intense animosity prevailing at Yankton at this time growing out of railroad litigation, personal feuds, political factionalism, and business rivalries between Capitol and Broadway streets, culminated on September 11, 1873, in the assassination of Secretary Edwin S. McCook of the Ohio "Fighting McCooks" by Peter P. Wintermute, Yankton banker.

³⁶ Kingsbury, I, 639. Few of the improvements promised by the Dakota Southern were ever made. There seems to have been no special effort to make the company comply within the specified time limit because of hard times. When later in 1881, a suggestion was made to bring action against the old construction firm of Wicker, Meckling and Company, a party to the bond, it was currently reported that the contract in question had been missing from the court-house for a long time. Yankton PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN, January 14, 1875, January 7, 1876, April 19, July 19, 1881.

bonds. The construction company immediately after the acceptance of the securities sold them to a New York banking house, accepting \$75,000 for the initial issue of \$100,000 and \$65,000 for the remainder. The bankers in turn re-tailed the bonds out in small lots at a discount of about ten per cent, realizing a neat profit of about \$40,000. To facilitate the sale, the Wall Street firm solicited letters and certificates from Yankton officials and business men, vouching for the financial stability of Yankton county and stressing the fact that the authorization for the bonds was officially sanctioned by Congress.³⁷ Whatever redress the taxpayers of Yankton county might thereafter seek in any quarrel with the management of the Dakota Southern would naturally react adversely upon the investing public rather than upon the original holders of the bonds. The second and final stage in the history of these bonds then concerns primarily those who in good faith accepted the bonds offered on the market.

During the legislative session of 1874-1875, an attempt was made at Yankton to stop payment of interest on the railroad bonds. A repudiation bill, proposed by a rural member from the county and repealing the original aid measure of April 21, 1871, was passed but was promptly vetoed by Governor John L. Pennington. A second bill to provide relief for the taxpayers, exempting property from sale for failure to pay the railroad tax, failed to pass.³⁸ After the payment of three annual levies of two per cent, legal proceedings were instituted to restrain collection of the railroad tax. From then on until final settlement was made in 1883, no tax was collected and no interest on the bonds paid.

The action to enjoin the county treasurer from collecting the tax was started in September, 1875, by a Yankton taxpayer who had consistently opposed the issuance of the bonds. In a demurrer action brought the following January by the county in the territorial district court, the county was sustained, and the complaint of the taxpayer ordered dismissed. The case by agreement was at once taken to the territorial Supreme Court where the decision of the district court was

³⁷ SENATE REPORTS, 47 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 271, Part 2, p. 6.

³⁸ DAKOTA HERALD (Yankton), December 29, 1874, January 5, 12, 1875.

reversed. The majority of the court held that the entire proceedings under which the bonds had been issued were utterly invalid.³⁹

Two lines of reasoning led to this opinion. In the first place, it was held that Congress under its power to govern territories had no constitutional authority to pass legislation granting counties in a territory the right to vote bonds. Since the special session of the legislature in 1871 was held without warrant or authority, there could, therefore, be no legality to any bonds issued under the law. A second argument advanced was that Congress had no authority to change the contract entered into by the voters. Congress, however, had changed the character of the aid from a donation to a capital stock subscription and had, moreover, made the west line of Bon Homme county the terminus of the railroad instead of Yankton. One of the judges stated:

If the county can be bound at all it must be in manner provided by the act of the special session of the Territorial Legislature of April 21, 1871, and the only method therein pointed out is by the voice of the people expressed through the ballot box; and after it has made its contract as therein directed, I know of no earthly power that can change it against the will of the county.

In a minority opinion, the dissenting judge conceded the power of Congress to act in the matter and emphatically held that sentiment in the territory had been favorable to the action of Congress, pointing out that the regular payment of the railroad tax up to the time of this litigation was an indication of acquiescence.⁴⁰

Following this decision, suit was promptly brought by the First National Bank of Brunswick, Maine, for the collection of \$1,200 of defaulted interest. The territorial courts, following the line of reasoning in the previous suit, disposed of the case by refusing judgment for the plaintiff. The case was then appealed on a writ of error to the Supreme Court of the United States.⁴¹ After a four year delay that tribunal

³⁹ Kingsbury, I, 640-644.

⁴⁰ Kingsbury, I, 644. Treadway V. Schnauber ET AL in Granville G. Bennett, REPORTS OF CASES . . . IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE TERRITORY OF DAKOTA (Yankton, 1879), I, 227-273.

⁴¹ PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN, May 13, June 16, 1876; Kingsbury, I, 642.

in May, 1880, reversed the decision of the Supreme Court of Dakota Territory and ordered that a judgment be directed for the bondholder.⁴²

Acting upon the mandate of the Supreme Court of the United States, the territorial courts entered a judgment for the Maine bank for the amount involved in its suit. The people of Yankton county, however, were not in a mood by this time to comply at once with the court orders. They sought a settlement with the bondholders on more favorable terms and mapped out a course of action accordingly. The territorial legislature was then in session and came to their assistance. The political code of the territory was amended on February 11, 1881, so as to exempt the property of a county from seizure for the payment of a judgment. The following day the code was further amended by a provision relative to resignations of elective county officers, effective immediately upon filing or depositing such resignations in writing in the office of the county clerk.⁴³ On February 21, a special law was enacted giving authority to the county commissioners to sell the railway stock held by the county and to refund the railroad bonds at the rate of fifty cents on the dollar.⁴⁴

Half a year elapsed. No settlement had been reached, neither had any tax levy been made to pay interest on the bonds. The attorney for the bondholders (who were now united in a common cause) took the next step in applying to the courts for a writ of mandamus against the county commissioners. Two of the three commissioners, taking advantage of the legislation enacted in February, resigned on August 17 before any legal papers could be served on them. At sunrise of September 5, the old commissioner met with the county clerk and, in accordance with law, duly ap-

⁴² First National Bank of Brunswick, Maine, V. County of Yankton, 110 U. S. REPORTS, 129-135.

⁴³ LAWS . . . OF DAKOTA TERRITORY, 1881, chapters 54, 137.

⁴⁴ *IBID.*, Special and Private Laws, chapter 29, p. 305. Both the refunding measure and the provision relative to collection of judgments against counties became law without the approval of Governor N. G. Ordway. The county commissioners on January 6, 1881, had sold the railroad stock for \$16,666.66 to Alexander Mitchell, representing the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad Company. PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN, January 7, 1881. The reference to the railroad stock in this funding measure was no doubt inserted to put an end to the criticism aroused by the transaction.

pointed as new commissioners two persons who had accompanied them to the office of the county board. When the business of the county was attended to, all three commissioners filed written resignations with the county clerk before they left the room. This well-nigh farcical procedure continued until April, 1883. There were eight distinct sets of resignations during the period.⁴⁵ County boards were called into being only when business matters became urgent. In the meantime, the claims of the bondholders remained unpaid despite the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The bondholders, however, stood their ground, determined to resist the "repudiation" schemes of the Yankton citizens. They found a point of vulnerability in the statehood question pending in Congress during 1882 and 1883. The citizens of Yankton were foremost sponsors of the movement for the admission of that part of Dakota Territory south of the forty-sixth parallel. The entire territory was enjoying a rapid increase of population and the prospects for admission of the southern part seemed rather favorable at the time. The Democratic members of Congress opposed statehood for partisan reasons, but the Republicans controlled both houses with a scanty majority and were generally favorable. A bill was reported favorably out of committee in the House in February, 1882, and another in the Senate a month later.⁴⁶ The bondholders transferred their efforts from Yankton to Washington and submitted a vigorous protest to the Senate against admission. They had no difficulty in securing the support of Senators Eugene Hale of Maine, and George G. Vest of Missouri. Vest, a Democrat, submitted a minority report from the Committee on Territories, incorporating, in general, the facts as represented in the bondholders' protest.⁴⁷ Senator Hale raised a

⁴⁵ MINUTE BOOK OF THE BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS, YANKTON COUNTY, for meetings from August 4, 1881, to April 5, 1883; "Protest of Bondholders of Yankton County, Dakota, against the admission of said Territory as a State," SEN. MISC. DOCS. 47 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 68. THE PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN, October 4, 1881, dismissed a report that the commissioners had met the day before for a regular meeting with the following: "An officer who watched the court house from midnight Sunday night until breakfast time says he don't think there is anything in it."

⁴⁶ HOUSE REPORTS, 47 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 450; SENATE REPORTS, No. 271.

⁴⁷ "Protest of Bondholders of Yankton County, Dakota, against the admission of said Territory as a State," SEN. MISC. DOCS., 47 Cong., 1

great outcry against the admission bill and offered amendments that sought to make the refunding of the bonds obligatory.⁴⁸ In the meantime, the bondholders were flooding Dakota Territory with pamphlets denouncing the citizens of Yankton county as repudiationists, and representing statehood as a lost cause unless the railroad bonds were paid. Yankton was definitely made to appear as the villain of the piece.⁴⁹

The relentless publicity given the matter obtained the desired results. Yankton business men began to fear adverse effects upon their interests and joined with ardent supporters of the statehood movement in an effort to conclude a truce with the bondholders. At a public meeting held on October 14, and presided over by Governor N. G. Ordway, sentiment was generally favorable toward paying the whole debt, and a committee was appointed to devise a plan to settle the question. It was decided to ask Congress to authorize a funding measure on the plea that the accumulation of interest on the bonds and the malignant charges of the bondholders had injured the credit of the county. A memorial voicing this request was, accordingly, presented to Congress.⁵⁰

This action was designed to eliminate the bond question from the statehood movement as well as to make the refunding bonds more valuable in the market. No relief, however, was forthcoming from Congress. The scene then shifted back to Yankton where on February 23, 1883, the territorial legislature authorized Yankton county to fund the debt by an issue of thirty years bonds bearing four per cent interest for the first ten years and four and a half thereafter. The new bond proposition was to be first submitted to the voters at a special election. At an election held on April 25, the funding was approved by a vote of 804 in favor and seventeen against. New bonds were at once issued for the amount of approximately \$350,000, representing the face value of the original bonds together with the accrued in-

Sess., No. 68; "Views of the Minority," SENATE REPORTS, No. 271, Part 2. Twenty-nine petitioners, including ten from Maine, were named in the protest. A trust company of London, England, held \$89,000 of the bonds.

⁴⁸ CONG RECORD, 47 Cong., 1 Sess., 2098; PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN, June 13, 1882.

⁴⁹ PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN, April 14, May 2, June 13, 1882.

⁵⁰ Memorial of Yankton county citizens in SENATE REPORTS, 47 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 934. PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN, September 29, October 12, 14, November 24, December 18, 1882, January 11, 1883.

The first of these was the fact that the United States had been founded on the principles of liberty and justice for all. This was a new idea at the time, and it was one that had not been fully developed in any other country. The second was the fact that the United States had a large and growing population. This was a result of the fact that the United States had a large and growing territory, and it was one that had not been fully developed in any other country.

The third was the fact that the United States had a large and growing economy. This was a result of the fact that the United States had a large and growing territory, and it was one that had not been fully developed in any other country. The fourth was the fact that the United States had a large and growing military. This was a result of the fact that the United States had a large and growing territory, and it was one that had not been fully developed in any other country. The fifth was the fact that the United States had a large and growing culture. This was a result of the fact that the United States had a large and growing territory, and it was one that had not been fully developed in any other country.

The sixth was the fact that the United States had a large and growing population. This was a result of the fact that the United States had a large and growing territory, and it was one that had not been fully developed in any other country. The seventh was the fact that the United States had a large and growing economy. This was a result of the fact that the United States had a large and growing territory, and it was one that had not been fully developed in any other country. The eighth was the fact that the United States had a large and growing military. This was a result of the fact that the United States had a large and growing territory, and it was one that had not been fully developed in any other country. The ninth was the fact that the United States had a large and growing culture. This was a result of the fact that the United States had a large and growing territory, and it was one that had not been fully developed in any other country.

The tenth was the fact that the United States had a large and growing population. This was a result of the fact that the United States had a large and growing territory, and it was one that had not been fully developed in any other country. The eleventh was the fact that the United States had a large and growing economy. This was a result of the fact that the United States had a large and growing territory, and it was one that had not been fully developed in any other country. The twelfth was the fact that the United States had a large and growing military. This was a result of the fact that the United States had a large and growing territory, and it was one that had not been fully developed in any other country. The thirteenth was the fact that the United States had a large and growing culture. This was a result of the fact that the United States had a large and growing territory, and it was one that had not been fully developed in any other country.

terest.⁵¹ The final chapter in the litigation was thus definitely closed. Yankton county was obliged to assume all its obligations, succeeding, however, in wresting from its creditors a concession in the form of a lower interest rate. Besides the amount involved in this refunding, it had expended no inconsiderable amount in litigation.

It was popularly held at the time that this bond litigation kept South Dakota out of the Union in 1882 and 1883. The soundness of this view is open to question. The protest of the bondholders may have been a factor during the long session in 1882 but an agreement had practically been reached with the bondholders when Congress met for its short session in December of that year. No vote was at any time taken on the statehood bill. The Democratic members were unanimous in opposing admission as a party policy, and the Republicans, apparently, were not sufficiently convinced of the merits of statehood to force the issue. With the passing of this Congress, the Republicans were not to control the lower house again until the election of 1888 restored them to power.⁵² The bondholders had a practical stake in the statehood question, since they feared complete repudiation if Congress would relinquish its control over Dakota before a settlement could be reached. They, therefore, exploited the statehood movement and succeeded in dictating practically their own terms for the final settlement with Yankton county.

The \$15,000 bond issue of Elk Point township in Union county provoked a situation similar to that in Yankton county. Encouraged by the course of events at Yankton, the taxpayers in December, 1876, secured a court order restraining the county treasurer from collecting the railroad tax. In 1881, a railroad tax was imposed under court orders. Settlement was finally made in 1882. The whole block of bonds in question was held by John A. Burbank, who was territorial governor at the time the Dakota Southern was constructed.⁵³

⁵¹ Kingsbury, I, 646, 647; PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN, February 1, April 23, May 22, 1883.

⁵² PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN, December 7, 8, 14, 1882. Richard F. Pettigrew, delegate from Dakota Territory, claimed he knew three Republican Senators who would have been willing to support the division of the territory but not the admission of the southern part as a separate state.

⁵³ UNION COUNTY COURIER, November 1, December 13, 1876; PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN, February 25, 1881, April 14, 1882.

THE STORY OF FORT SISSETON

By Edward A. Hummel

Associate Historian, National Park Service,
Department of the Interior.

The Sioux Indian Uprising in Minnesota in 1862 retarded the steady westward movement to the Dakota plains and definitely affected the early history of South Dakota. The short war which started in Meeker County, Minnesota, spread rapidly along the Minnesota Valley, and although the fiercest fighting and the greatest bloodshed occurred on Minnesota soil, the entire frontier was terrified. Local in character when it started, the war gained momentum as it spread, and undoubtedly many Indians, who had previously been friendly to the Whites, joined the hostiles.

Just how many friendly Indians joined the hostiles fearing reprisals because "the Great Father was furious,"¹ can only be a matter of conjecture. Past experience had taught the natives that the soldiers did not always distinguish between peaceful and hostile Indians when they were seeking revenge. The large number of Indians participating in the Battle of Stony Lake the following year would indicate that the number of unfriendly Indians was increasing.

The brutal massacres accompanying this uprising and the fact that the outbreak started during the middle of the Civil War gave to it a national interest and led many to suspect a Confederate conspiracy. The exact causes are not entirely clear today. Mistreatment of the Indians, violations of treaty obligations, delay in paying annuities, and the steady encroachment by the settlers must have all played a part.

The stories of the massacres only intensified the convictions of the advocates of a firm policy that the Indian must be subdued by military force and gave the War Department ample support, if not urgent requests, to send soldiers to punish the Indians for the depredations they had committed. General Sibley and General Sully were sent in

¹ Mazakootemane, Paul. MINNESOTA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.
v. 3, p. 87-9.

pursuit of the hostile Indians for the purpose of inflicting a decisive defeat upon them.

Memories and stories of the Indian massacres in Minnesota did not provide the proper mental state of mind conducive to a rapid westward migration. The peaceful European who had moved west or was moving west the greatest part of his journey on the train or boat was not as accustomed to coping with such situations as were his predecessors of the previous centuries who moved into the Old West. They had to have physical reassurance in the form of military protection to give them the necessary initiative to continue the westward march.

To give assurance to the pioneer that a similar disaster would not occur and to be in a position where they could control the Indians and protect the wagon routes to the recently discovered gold fields of Idaho and Montana, the War Department established Fort Wadsworth (later called Fort Sisseton) on the Coteau des Prairies in northeastern South Dakota.²

The question where this post and other posts were to be located in order to accomplish these aims was the subject for considerable correspondence between General Sibley and his superior, General John Pope. In a letter to General Sully on July 18, 1864, General Pope stated that it was his purpose to establish posts at Devils lake, on the James river, at or near Fort Clark, and one on the Yellowstone river.³ In a letter to the War Department he listed his reasons for establishing this line of posts. He said that he was going to push the Sioux to such a distance northwest of the line of the posts "to insure entire security hereafter, in opening to emigration and settlement all of Dakota east and south of James River, and in furnishing a direct and much safer route for emigrants to Idaho."⁴

² The Post was named Fort Wadsworth after General James Samuel Wadsworth, 1807-1864, who was killed in the Civil War. Because a post in New York was also named Fort Wadsworth, the name was changed to Fort Sisseton on August 29, 1876. In this paper the names are used interchangeably.

³ Pope. Letter to Sully, dated July 18, 1864. WAR OF REBELLION RECORDS, Ser. 1, v. 34, pt. 2, p. 110. Material from WAR OF REBELLION RECORDS and some of the other material used in this paper was copied and compiled for the National Park Service by former Historical Consultant Marvin Scott.

⁴ Pope. Letter to Kelton, dated Feb. 6, 1864. IBID. Ser. 1, v. 34, pt. 2, p. 257-8.

Pope believed that the posts could be built by the troops from materials on the ground "without any necessity for appropriations,"⁵ and was certain that the posts would soon become the nucleus of permanent settlements on the emigrant routes. "The stay of the troops will only be temporary, as the country behind and around the posts will soon be settled."⁶

Following this letter to Washington indicating that the posts could be constructed "without any appropriations," Pope instructed Sibley and Sully that they would have to pick the sites where adequate building material was available.⁷

General Pope had asked Sully and Sibley to make such suggestions they might have regarding the location of these posts which he had outlined in his plan. Sibley availed himself of this opportunity and on January 25, 1864, suggested an alternate site "about eighty miles a little southwest from Fort Abercrombie" on the head of the Coteau des Prairies. According to Sibley this site was "well supplied with good water and timber" and was "the most commanding and eligible site for a military post in all that region."⁸

He also pointed out that Pope might not be able to achieve his objective of protecting a road to Idaho if the posts were located on the sites listed in Pope's plan. Sibley believed that the "overland route to Idaho" would pass "within or south of the head of the Coteau." He therefore recommended that a post be established there instead of on Devils lake.

Pope was convinced that Devils lake and the James river were the strategic locations for the military posts, but finally agreed to concede to Sibley's wish to establish a fort on the head of the Coteau if no place on the James river could be found with sufficient timber. On May 30, Sibley wrote to Pope that according to all the information he could obtain there was "no point on the James River where there

⁵ IBID.

⁶ IBID.

⁷ IBID.

⁸ Sibley. Letter to Pope, dated Jan. 25, 1864. IBID. Ser. 1, v. 34, pt. 2, p. 154.

The first of these was the establishment of a permanent government for the territory. This was done by the passage of the Organic Act of 1802, which provided for a territorial government with a governor and judges appointed by the President. The second was the establishment of a system of public lands. This was done by the passage of the Land Ordinance of 1785, which provided for the sale of land in sections of 36 acres each. The third was the establishment of a system of public schools. This was done by the passage of the Common School Act of 1800, which provided for the establishment of a common school in each township.

The fourth was the establishment of a system of public roads. This was done by the passage of the Road Act of 1806, which provided for the establishment of a public road in each township. The fifth was the establishment of a system of public bridges. This was done by the passage of the Bridge Act of 1806, which provided for the establishment of a public bridge in each township. The sixth was the establishment of a system of public mills. This was done by the passage of the Mill Act of 1806, which provided for the establishment of a public mill in each township.

The seventh was the establishment of a system of public courts. This was done by the passage of the Court Act of 1806, which provided for the establishment of a public court in each township. The eighth was the establishment of a system of public jails. This was done by the passage of the Jail Act of 1806, which provided for the establishment of a public jail in each township. The ninth was the establishment of a system of public houses. This was done by the passage of the House Act of 1806, which provided for the establishment of a public house in each township. The tenth was the establishment of a system of public churches. This was done by the passage of the Church Act of 1806, which provided for the establishment of a public church in each township.

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The nineteenth was the establishment of a system of public schools. This was done by the passage of the School Act of 1806, which provided for the establishment of a public school in each township. The twentieth was the establishment of a system of public roads. This was done by the passage of the Road Act of 1806, which provided for the establishment of a public road in each township.

is sufficient timber for the uses of a military post," and if this proved to be the case "after a thorough exploration" he would establish the post on the head of the Coteau "as you directed."⁹ To assure Pope of this lack of timber, Sibley made a reconnaissance of the James river "for a long distance" before locating the post on the head of the Coteau des Prairies.¹⁰

General Sibley then instructed Major Clowney of the Thirtieth Wisconsin Volunteers to establish Fort Wadsworth on the head of the Coteau, and Clowney selected a site five miles west and a little north of the present town of Eden, South Dakota, where today some of the post buildings still exist. On August 1, 1864, Clowney reported that he had "located Fort Wadsworth."¹¹

Pope was never quite convinced that this location had great strategic merits. Sibley, however, always believed otherwise. He was certain that a post on this site would be of aid in providing "a complete check" to the "advance of any large bodies of savages" toward the eastern settlements via "the valleys of the great streams, which are the usual avenues of approach from the upper prairies."¹²

The beauty of the region impressed some of the travelers. David Keeler in 1873 stated that the Fort was located in "sort of a valley" lower than the surrounding hills. From these hills one could count "at least twenty-five beautiful lakes," all of them with "more or less timber around them." To him it was "the most picturesque and romantic scenery" he had ever seen. "It was beautiful beyond description. Central Park would be left in the shade with all of its artificial work alongside of this work of nature." The native fowl, which made this region a hunter's paradise in later years, did not escape his attention. When he was there, "the lakes" were "full of ducks and geese."¹³

⁹ Sibley. Letter to Pope, dated May 30, 1864. IBID. Ser. 1, v. 34 pt. 4, p. 135.

¹⁰ Sibley. Letter to Pope, dated June 9, 1864. IBID. Ser. 1, v. 34, pt. 4, p. 233.

¹¹ Clowney. Letter to Olin, dated Aug. 1, 1864. IBID. Ser. 1, v. 41, pt. 2, p. 514.

¹² Sibley. Letter to Pope, dated Jan. 25, 1864. IBID. Ser. 1, v. 34, pt. 2, p. 155.

¹³ Keeler, David. DIARY. July-Sept., 1873. v. 3. Manuscript.

Civilization was completely lacking when Major Clowney and his Thirtieth Wisconsin Volunteers located Fort Wadsworth on August 1, 1864. Nature had not been greatly disturbed by the inhabitation of the Indians and buffaloes. The latter roamed the surrounding grass plains in great multitudes and were only occasionally molested. No railroads had pierced this open plain and only a few white people lived in northeastern South Dakota. The roads during the season when they were best were described as being tolerable and the only inconvenience being small rocks.¹⁴ During winter and spring months they were impassable. The nearest river, the James, was forty miles away and not navigable thus removing all possibility of securing supplies by boats. Fort Abercrombie in North Dakota, Fort Pierre in South Dakota, and Forts Ridgely and Snelling were supply stations for this post. The quickest a trip could be made to St. Paul was five days and the longest took a month.¹⁵

Such was the condition on the head of the Coteau des Prairies in northeastern South Dakota when Major Clowney and his troops arrived. The site chosen contained all the essential materials needed for the construction of a post but it was incumbent upon Major Clowney and his soldiers to prepare the material, build defenses, construct buildings, and to provide part of the food supplies for soldiers and animals. Pope believed that the post would be only temporary because settlers would soon settle around the post, and he evidently expected the post buildings to be constructed mainly of logs. This had been anticipated by Sibley, and care had been taken to send a company composed of lumbermen.¹⁶

The soldiers sent to establish this post were asked to penetrate the frontier and do what pioneers in the Old West had done a century before, and in a similar way they had to depend to a great extent upon their own initiative for food

¹⁴ Sims, Charles. Letter to S. G. Sims. NORTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS. v. 2, pt. 1, p. 432.

¹⁵ Outline description of Fort Wadsworth. 1872. Photostat copy, South Dakota historical society.

¹⁶ Sibley. Letter to Pope, dated May 30, 1864. WAR OF REBELLION RECORDS. Ser. 1, v. 34, pt. 4, p. 136.

and shelter. Like their eastern ancestor their first concern was to provide for adequate defense against the Indian. Before attempting resident quarters, they completed two blockhouses¹⁷ and dug small cannons down at each of the corners to keep out marauders.¹⁸

The enlisted men who had joined the Army as soldiers found that it was necessary to be woodcutters, carpenters and stone masons. The short period between August 1, and cold weather in northeastern South Dakota necessitated speedy action and the co-operation of every man. On August 10, Clowney reported that he was making "preparations for the construction of all the necessary buildings by having all the men not necessarily engaged on guard duty engaged in intrenching . . . and securing and hewing timbers for the blockhouses, preparing the sawmill and all the tools." Some men were engaged in burning coal and lime, and some were hauling rock for foundations for block-houses and two men were engaged in digging a well.¹⁹ Work was being pushed so rapidly that Clowney was confident that a log storehouse would be completed in time to house the supplies which had been sent from Fort Ridgely on September 5.

Major Rose succeeded Clowney on September 28, and upon arrival made a very uncomplimentary report on what had been done "in the way of erecting buildings."²⁰ By the time two weeks had elapsed Major Rose realized some of the problems involved in the construction of buildings by soldiers and complained to Sibley because he did not have sufficient mules to run the sawmill and haul hay at the same time.²¹ Probably in his anxiety to speed up the production of lumber the sawmill casting broke and a considerable delay was involved in securing a new one.²²

Despite all the urgent requests for speed sent to Rose by Sibley, the buildings were not completed in time for

¹⁷ Clowney. Letter to Olin, dated Sept. 1, 1864. IBID. Ser. 1, v. 41, pt. 3, p. 15-16.

¹⁸ Quinn, William, white scout. FORT SISSETON. Fort Sisseton memorial association. p. 13.

¹⁹ Clowney. Letter to Olin, dated Aug. 10, 1864. WAR OF REBELLION RECORDS. Ser. 1, v. 41, pt. 2, p. 645.

²⁰ Rose. Letter to Olin, dated Sept. 28, 1864. IBID. Ser. 1, v. 41, pt. 3, p. 467-8.

²¹ Rose. Letter to Olin, dated Oct. 12, 1864. IBID. Ser. 1, v. 41, pt. 3, p. 827-8.

²² Olin. Letter to Rose, dated Oct. 15, 1864. IBID. Ser. 1, v. 41, pt. 3, p. 900.

winter habitation. Sibley wrote to Rose on November 5, that "The failure to complete the quarters of the command is a great disappointment to the brigadier-general commanding." He urged Rose to display the greatest energy in getting everything ready for operation early in the spring.²³

If the "failure to complete the quarters of the Command" was a disappointment to the "Brigadier General Commanding" it must have been a catastrophe to the soldiers who were forced to spend their first winter in South Dakota in tents and dugouts.²⁴

The experience of the soldiers at Fort Ridgely during the Sioux Uprising had convinced military authorities of the necessity of blockhouses and a stockade. The original plans of Fort Wadsworth provided for the erection of a log stockade surrounding the post buildings, but as the work progressed it became evident that the abundance of timber on the head of the Coteau was not sufficient to construct both buildings and stockade. Furthermore even if there had been sufficient timber, the capacity of the sawmill was not adequate to supply enough lumber for both purposes.²⁵

Major Rose informed Sibley of this fact on Nov. 7, 1864, and said that he was having made, in place of the log stockade, "an embankment, to be sodded, and two 8-inch beams on top, the lower one to be pierced for musketry, when completed to be eight feet high, and with a ditch nine feet wide in front. . . ." Rose was certain that this embankment could be built in "far less time than a good stockade," and he believed that when it was finished they could "with a small force bid defiance to all the Indians in the Northwest."²⁶ Sibley in passing this information on to Pope said that he was "more and more satisfied that Fort Wadsworth

²³ Olin. Letter to Rose, dated Nov. 5, 1864. IBID. Ser. 1, v. 41, pt. 4, p. 447.

²⁴ Renville, Victor. Sketch of Minnesota massacre. NORTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS. v. 5, p. 267.

²⁵ Rose. Letter to Olin, dated Nov. 7, 1864. WAR OF REBELLION RECORDS. Ser. 1, v. 41, pt. 4, p. 481.

²⁶ IBID. This embankment and ditch had disappeared by 1935, when the National Park Service assumed jurisdiction over the reconstruction work done by the WPA workers. Careful excavation by the Park Service personnel revealed that the ditch varied from 4 to 6 feet in depth depending on the topography of the ground. With exception of the "beams," this ditch and embankment has been restored.

will prove to be one of the most important military stations in the Northwest."²⁷

Fort Wadsworth had characteristics of a frontier community and passed through stages which were similar to those any frontier settlement experienced. The first need, as exemplified by the dispatches between the Fort commanders and their superiors, was to provide a defense against the Indian. When this was completed all energies were devoted to the construction of temporary housing facilities.

Not all the buildings constructed in the early period of this post's existence were made of logs. A map prepared by the War Department in 1866, indicates two stone barracks, a stone stable, and brick commanding officer's house. All the other buildings, however, were log structures.²⁸

Following the construction of defenses and of temporary shelter, attention was given to providing a part of the food supply. The soldiers had brought temporary provisions with them, but to assure a future supply, gardens were planted and cattle for subsistence were brought in from Texas.²⁹ This did not mean that the post was dependent entirely upon itself for its food supply, but poor communication necessitated the raising of vegetables and potatoes. It was also necessary to keep a year's supply of food on hand at all times, because the troops never knew when they would have to withstand an Indian attack, or when they would be called out on a military campaign.

Undoubtedly, the work entailed in preserving fresh foods during all seasons was done under great difficulties. Although root-cellars as such are not mentioned until 1882, it is quite probable that potatoes and vegetables were stored in the fall for winter use. Ice houses were in existence as early as 1866.

²⁷ Sibley. Letter to Meline, dated Nov. 17, 1864. IBID. Ser. 1, v. 41, pt. 4, p. 600.

²⁸ U. S. War dept. Map by Folsom. 1866. Manuscript. The stone walls of both barracks and the barn were in existence in 1933. Since then the National Park Service WPA camp has restored the outside of the north barracks as it was originally. The roof of the stone stable had been restored by a transient camp, without any regard for historical accuracy, before the Park Service assumed supervision of the restoration work on this area. The brick commanding officer's quarters still exist and require only minor repairs to restore it to its original state.

²⁹ Rosenbauch, August. FORT SISSETON. p. 15.

Like the pioneer who razed his temporary structures and built a more durable home after he had become settled and had raised a few crops, the War Department began to replace the temporary log structures at Fort Wadsworth with buildings of more durable material after the primary demands of the post had been satisfied.

It may be said that this post entered upon the second stage of its frontier existence just about the time when the name of the post was changed from Fort Wadsworth to Fort Sisseton on August 29, 1876.

Contrary to General Terry's report of 1868 which stated that the buildings at Fort Wadsworth were completed and that "no further expense will be incurred upon that account,"³⁰ the construction of buildings and facilities seems to have been an endless task during the entire period of the post's existence. At the time General Terry made his report some of the hastily constructed log buildings, erected between 1864 and 1869, were beginning to deteriorate. By 1869, it had been found necessary to replace the log hospital and log magazine with brick structures.³¹ A terrific hail, rain, and wind storm on July 29, 1873, which demolished some of the buildings and partially ruined others, only hastened the inevitable change.

The rehabilitation of the post was continued with renewed vigor when Captain Bennett was placed in command of the post in the fall of 1878. On his arrival he saw the fort site and the surrounding territory as it was following several years of drought and was not romantically inspired as Keeler had been after seeing it in 1873. Although all of his conclusions might not have been correct, his graphic description of the effect of civilization on the area is worth quoting. After stating that the lakes had dried up he explained as follows:³²

³⁰ ANNUAL REPORT OF SECRETARY OF WAR. 1868. p. 36. (House Ex. doc., 40th cong., 3d sess.)

³¹ Holabird, Col. S. B., A RECONNOISSANCE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF DAKOTA, 1869. p. 17. (Senate Ex. doc. 8, 41st cong., 3d sess.) The hospital of brick and the magazine of brick and stone exist today. The hospital needs repair but the magazine is in excellent condition.

³² Bennett. Letter to Adjutant General, dated Nov. 23, 1878. U. S. War dept. Manuscript.

"As this drying up has continued steadily since the post has been established, it will likely continue. Formerly the Indians occupied this section of country and camped around these lakes. In summer vast herds of buffalo used to graze over this country, in summer water at these lakes. The Indians' stock and buffalo herds consuming the grass of the prairies and eating it, tramping it down around the lakes, protected the timber about the lakes from destruction by prairie fires, and in the winter this timber caught large quantities of snow framed in shelter of it on the ice, this snow melting furnished a large water supply in the spring to the lakes. In summer the woods protected the waters of the lake from sweeping evaporation by the winds. The buffalo and Indians are gone from the prairies, for years prairie fires have been destroying the timber about the lakes, in many places entirely denuding them of timber, the winds in summer sweeping up the water and in winter sweeping the snow away clean—these and climatic changes . . . reducing the quantity . . . and quality of water . . ." (Sic)

Bennett did not specifically mention it, but he must have intended to infer that the cutting of the trees by the soldiers did not in any way help the conservation of the lakes and water supply.

The providing of an ample water supply was Bennett's first worry. This was more serious in 1878, because two companies were again stationed at the post after the Sioux Indian War in Wyoming and Montana. To provide this necessary water supply, Captain Bennett recommended that additional cisterns be put in immediately. The only other solution he could suggest was to bring in water from Clear lake, nine miles from the post, by using a steam force pump.³³ The Army had never been able to get water at Fort Wadsworth by digging wells and had always secured their water from springs and lakes.³⁴ Later maps show that several, but not all of the cisterns recommended by Bennett were put in.

After he had taken steps to secure an adequate water supply, Bennett gave his attention to the provision of a bet-

³³ IBID.

³⁴ Knickerbocker. A report on the hygiene of the United States Army and descriptions of military posts. 1875. p. 450. (Circular 8)

ter and more ample food supply. On December 2, 1878, he reported that the "subsistence department received thorough and careful inspection." Finding no slaughter house in existence, he "gave orders to construct one by labor of troops of materials that could be gathered up." Finding that the "beef" was poor, he "gave strict orders in reference to the care, feedings, watering and sheltering of beef cattle," and as a result "the beef" was "improving in quality."³⁵

The repair of buildings, replacement of log structures with brick and stone buildings, and the construction of others, occupied much of Bennett's attention. By this time the belief that the post was temporary had obviously been abandoned because Bennett directed the construction of only such buildings as would be permanent.

On January 17, 1880, Bennett, in recommending the construction of additional quarters for the proper housing of two companies, also requested that the shops be rebuilt soon because "the logs are rotten."³⁶ Other buildings were also showing the results of hasty construction. A report made in 1875, pointed out that the hospital had been so poorly constructed that the plaster was falling down and that there were large openings around the windows and doors which allowed "great quantity of snow" to blow in.³⁷ In the spring of 1878, the log blacksmith shop showed signs of settling and only a large iron drill prevented the roof from falling in. "This brought into consideration the fact that the blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, scouts' quarters, and some of the others built of oak logs . . ." would "have to be rebuilt without delay."³⁸

The question of a schoolhouse became one of great concern to Bennett after he was asked by the Adjutant General, in November, 1878, why one had not been erected. In replying, Bennett pointed out that he had just been put in com-

³⁵ Bennett. Letter to Adjutant General, dated Dec. 2, 1878. U. S. War dept. Manuscript. Citations from letters in the War Department files used in this paper are taken from the copies made by National Park Service Junior Historian, Ruth Graham.

³⁶ Bennett. Letter to Assistant Adjutant General, dated Jan. 17, 1880. U. S. War dept. Manuscript.

³⁷ Knickerbocker. Op. cit. p. 450-453.

³⁸ Bennett. Letter to Assistant Adjutant General, dated Apr. 28, 1879. U. S. War dept. Manuscript.

mand of the post, and furthermore, General Terry had previously disapproved plans for such a building. Bennett suggested using one of the existing log buildings at the post, which, in his opinion, "would be very strong and durable and with slight repairs be good for a great many years."³⁹

The next spring, after the blacksmith shop showed evidences of rapid decay, he changed his mind about using logs and recommended the construction of a school building of brick which could be "burned at the post by the labor of troops."⁴⁰ A brick building for use as a schoolhouse, chapel, and library was finally approved in 1880.

Although plans for a chapel had been submitted in 1866, no building was erected for such use until the combination school, chapel, library building was constructed. It is quite probable that other buildings were used from time to time for this purpose. The missionaries had followed the Army to the Sisseton Indian Reservation and had established churches for the Indians.⁴¹ The well known ability of the Indian missionary to convert the heathen, and their close relationship with frontier posts, would lead one to believe that church services at the Fort were not entirely neglected between 1864 and 1880.

Some sort of a library was in existence by 1875, when Assistant Surgeon Knickerbocker reported that "the post library consisted of ninety-four volumes of miscellaneous character." He did not, however, mention where they were housed.⁴²

Bennett was not satisfied with the bathing facilities at the post. Knickerbocker had reported in 1875, that considerable bathing was done during the summer but none in the winter. Bennett took steps to correct this and in 1883 was able to report that "bath houses are being constructed for two companies immediately in rear of the Company quarters,

³⁹ Bennett. Letter to Townsend, dated Dec. 2, 1878. U. S. War dept. Manuscript.

⁴⁰ Bennett. Letter to Assistant Adjutant General, dated Apr. 28, 1879. U. S. War dept. Manuscript. This building, slightly altered, still exists.

⁴¹ Morris, M. R. THE SISSETON MISSION, PAST AND PRESENT. 1886. p. 9-15.

⁴² Knickerbocker. Op. cit. p. 452.

according to plans . . . It will afford bathing facilities to the men in winter and better facility for washing."⁴³

Bennett's campaign to improve the living conditions at Fort Sisseton progressed well. By the time he arrived at the Fort lumber in the vicinity of the post was scarce, but better roads and closer supply stations made it possible to supply this need from outside sources.

By 1881, he was able to report that a carpenter shop, blacksmith shop (to replace log buildings) and the school-library-reading room building were being constructed. He also reported that repair had been "made in the company barracks, quartermaster's office, commissary office, adjutant's office, guard house, and officers' quarters." To this he proudly added the fact that most of this work, including the making of bricks, was done by "enlisted men." Improvement of the grounds had also received his attention. "The walks . . . have been gravelled, weeds cut out" and the "drains cleaned." His concern for the cattle had not ceased in 1878. Repairs were made "on the corral for the commissary cattle; new feeding racks, and new buildings for stable for beef cattle" had been constructed.⁴⁴

By 1883, most of the post buildings had been repaired, the necessary new structures and facilities had been provided or were in process of construction. It was with pride that Bennett wrote his annual report.

The coal storehouse and the commissary sergeants' quarters had been completed. The latter had been built "by the labor of troops, of stone, boulders picked up around the lakes near the post." The stone was "cut very finely so the outside of the building presents a very fine appearance." Bennett pointed out that the masonry work was done by Private August Rosenbauch . . . in a workmanlike manner . . . " Root houses for two companies had been built "entirely by the labor of troops" and were large enough to hold "all the vegetables the companies" could "raise." According to Bennett they were "the best root and vegetable

⁴³ Bennett. Annual report. Sept. 15, 1883. U. S. War dept. Manuscript.

⁴⁴ Bennett. Letter to Assistant Adjutant General, dated Sept. 24, 1881. U. S. War dept. Manuscript.

cellars, for use of troops," he had "ever seen in the Army." A wagon shed had been built, the east end of the hospital had been buttressed, and four additional cisterns had been put in. In digging "these great cellars for the cisterns, the men" had "worked as if they owned the cisterns" . . . Among other things a new flag staff had been erected, "hay for subsistence cattle, for post hospital and company cows" had been put in "by the labor of troops—Companies F and I" . . . and they had done "this work splendidly."⁴⁵

The work involved in the construction of Fort Sisseton has been reviewed to illustrate the similarity of problems faced by the soldiers in the establishment of an early Dakota military post to those confronted by the pioneers in the establishment of a civilian community on the frontier. Other difficulties encountered by soldiers at this post also resembled those that Dakota pioneers had to face. The soldiers at the post were as much concerned about rain, hail, blizzards, and wind storms as were the settlers who followed them to South Dakota. The difficulties encountered when their gardens were destroyed by the hail storm in July 1873 were not recorded, but it is probable that potatoes and fresh vegetables were scarce during that winter. Likewise in years of drought the post must have experienced considerable difficulty in securing necessary vegetables for the men and sufficient hay for their cattle and horses.

The prairie fire, a scourge to all early Dakota pioneers, was also a factor which the Army post had to contend with. In October, 1880, a prairie fire swept that section of South Dakota in which the Fort was located and it was "only by the heroic efforts of the garrison that the post was saved."⁴⁶ In fighting these fires, the soldiers were more fortunate than the individual pioneer, because the Government supplied the post with "Johnston hand force pumps." Bennett pointed

⁴⁵ Bennett. Annual report. Sept. 15, 1883. U. S. War dept. Manuscript. The exterior walls of the commissary sergeant's quarters are in good condition, but the interior wall partitions, floors, ceiling, joists, doors, and windows have been removed. The buttresses on the east end of the hospital also exist today.

⁴⁶ Bennett. Letter to Assistant Adjutant General, dated Sept. 24, 1881. U. S. War dept. Manuscript.

out their value when he reported that "in fighting prairie fires with them we have always been successful."⁴⁷

In securing medical care, the soldiers were also more fortunate than other frontier communities because a doctor was always stationed at the Fort. The cold Dakota winters, however, had the same effect on the soldiers as they had on other pioneers. Catarrh and bronchitis were reported as being the most common ailments and only "other local diseases" came near to being the same number.⁴⁸

Besides establishing a frontier community and doing work necessary for the maintenance of this settlement, the post adequately fulfilled the functions for which it was created. Established as it was within the Sisseton Reservation, it served as a policing agency in preventing outbreaks between hostile Indians and settlements to the East.

When Fort Wadsworth was established, the protection of the route to the gold fields in Montana and Idaho was of considerable concern to the military authorities. One of the first official duties of troops at Fort Wadsworth was to escort Captain Fisk's train from the Fort to the Missouri river.⁴⁹ Emigrant trains to the Idaho gold fields were not uncommon following the Civil War. Many of them went via Fort Wadsworth⁵⁰ and, no doubt, were escorted a part of the journey by troops stationed there.

In 1875, General Sheridan said that the military posts in the Department of the Dakota had additional duties in that they "have had the double duty of protecting the settlements from the raids of hostile Indians, and the Black Hills country from occupation by miners attracted there by real or imaginary mineral wealth . . ."⁵¹

In addition to helping in establishing civilization on the Dakota plains and protecting settlers, Fort Wadsworth assisted in establishing lines of communication and transpor-

⁴⁷ Bennett. Annual report. Sept. 15, 1883. U. S. War dept. Manuscript.

⁴⁸ Knickerbocker. Op. cit. p. 451.

⁴⁹ Clowney. Letter to Olin, dated July 29, 1864. WAR OF REBELLION RECORDS. Ser. 1. v. 41, pt. 2, p. 463.

⁵⁰ Welty, R. L. "Frontier army on Missouri river, 1860-1870." NORTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, v. 2, p. 96.

⁵¹ ANNUAL REPORT OF SECRETARY OF WAR. 1875. pt. 2, p. 56. (House ex. doc., 44th Cong., 1st sess.)

tation which facilitated the penetration of the Dakota frontier. In May, 1871, an escort was furnished "to enable a surveying party of the Saint Paul and Pacific Railroad, . . . to run a 'trial line' from a point near its present terminus . . . some twelve or fifteen miles south of Fort Abercrombie, to the Missouri River," near Fort Sully. The justification for providing an escort was that railroads "will afford valuable assistance to the Government in the solution of the Indian problem."⁵²

When the Northern Pacific Railroad was being built, one company of troops from Fort Wadsworth established a camp, Fort Cross, on the James river to give the surveyors and builders protection against the Indians.⁵³ Military escorts, from time to time, were also furnished to trains of contractors⁵⁴ and cattle trains.⁵⁵

The chief military duty of troops stationed here was to prevent Indian outbreaks rather than to punish Indians after depredations had been committed. Whenever occasions arose which indicated that they might cause a conflict, troops were dispatched with the hope that their presence would assure peace. When Drifting Goose's band of Indians showed signs of hostility in the summer of 1879, an officer "with a detachment of . . . men . . . left Fort Sisseton for the James River Valley, to prevent a collision between white settlers . . . and . . . Indians. The presence of the troops had the desired effect."⁵⁶ Other forts in South Dakota performed similar duties after Fort Sisseton was abandoned. When the Sisseton military reservation was opened for settlement, April 15, 1892, troops from Fort Yates were there from April 1-16 to prevent any outbreak of the Indians and to prevent whites from entering before the reservation was officially opened.⁵⁷

When Fort Sisseton was established, it was beyond the fringe of white settlement. Only enterprising traders in-

⁵² IBID. 1871. pt. 2, p. 28-9. (House ex. doc., 42d cong., 2d sess.)

⁵³ IBID. 1872. pt. 2, p. 43. (House ex. doc., 42d cong., 3d sess.)

⁵⁴ IBID. 1875. pt. 2, p. 65. (House ex. doc., 44th cong., 1st sess.)

⁵⁵ Trobriand, Comte de. *VIE MILITAIRE DANS LE DAKOTA*, 1867-1869. Paris, 1926.

⁵⁶ REPORT OF SECRETARY OF WAR. 1879. v. 1, pt. 2, p. 54. (House ex. doc., 46th cong., 2d sess.)

⁵⁷ ANNUAL REPORT OF DEPARTMENT OF DAKOTA. Sept. 10, 1892. p. 6.

habited northeastern South Dakota. Transportation and communication were slow. Railroads, telegraph, and telephone lines were unknown in the region. With the help of this and other military posts, telegraph lines were put in, railroads were built, and settlers were escorted to their homesteads. Under the protection of the Army, the Dakotas were settled.

By 1882, there were few settlers in the vicinity of the Fort. Only a few years later, in 1886, the land around the Fort had all been homesteaded, and the people were anxiously looking for the opening of the military reservation.⁵⁸ Like the early fur trader, trail blazer, and the temporary occupant of the frontier, the post had fulfilled its purpose, and after civilization had advanced to northeastern South Dakota, Fort Sisseton had outlived its usefulness. The permanent settler had arrived there by 1888; the territorial Government was functioning; a new state was going to come into existence the next year; and a new governmental organization was to assume the duties of protecting its residents.

The Fort was abandoned in 1888, and shortly thereafter all but one section of the original reservation was opened for settlement. One square mile of the military reservation, including the buildings, was turned over to the State of South Dakota. The State in turn leased the land to cattlemen, farmers and hunters. Some of the buildings were torn down and the others allowed to ruin. In 1932, under the sponsorship of a voluntary Fort Sisseton Memorial Association and other interested citizens, a transient camp was located there to repair and restore the post. Late in the fall of 1935, this restoration work was placed under the supervision of the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior.

To secure information necessary for the accurate historical reconstruction of Fort Sisseton, the National Park Service personnel has made an archeological survey of the sites of all former buildings and has studied the existing remains, as well as all plans, photographs, and written de-

⁵⁸ Hickman, George. HISTORY OF MARSHALL COUNTY, DAKOTA. 1886. p. 12.

scriptions available in South Dakota and in the War Department files.

Under the supervision of this Service, WPA workers are at present restoring this post for the State of South Dakota. Every effort is being made to restore it, insofar as it is feasible and practicable, as it was when abandoned in 1888.

Although Fort Sisseton was established in conjunction with the Indian campaign following the Minnesota Massacre, the story of this post is not one of dramatic events and spectacular incidents which so often are stressed in historical literature. The importance of this Fort in South Dakota history is derived from its association to, and the part it played in, that steady, evermoving penetration of the Indian country by the whites which historians call the Westward Movement. The Army, through its military posts like Fort Sisseton, played a similar part in the opening of the Dakotas that the frontiersman—who was an Indian fighter, trail blazer, and road builder—played in the opening of Tennessee and Kentucky. The soldiers stationed at these frontier posts, in fulfilling their duties, had many experiences which resembled those their 18th century forefathers had when they penetrated the Old West. In its role as "frontiersman" Fort Sisseton played an essential part in the early history of South Dakota.

Many of the post buildings erected by the soldiers are still in existence. Buildings existing today in a fair state of preservation are the brick hospital, brick commanding officer's quarters, stone commissary sergeants' quarters, brick blacksmith and carpenter shop, and brick guardhouse. The stone walls are the only remains of the south barracks. The roof and interior of the officers' quarters have decayed. The barn has been restored by a transient camp. Under the supervision of the National Park Service, the oil house, the north barracks and the embankment and ditch have been restored. These buildings at Fort Sisseton are the remains of a typical latter 19th century frontier post, the occupants of which experienced events well known to any South Da-

kota pioneer, and as such are a memorial to the Army and the part it played in the frontier history of South Dakota. They tell a story, not of military activity, but one of a South Dakota frontier community. These inanimate structures give evidence as to how soldiers at the post provided themselves a means of defense and shelter by using materials native in the vicinity. The huge remaining cistern cellars indicate the struggle for an adequate water supply even if they do not record what Captain Bennett recorded in writing, that "the men worked as though they owned the cisterns." Private August Rosenbauch's stone work, which Bennett praised so highly is recorded—the only place where it can be recorded—in the existing remains of the commissary sergeants' quarters.

The story of the men splitting the "niggerheads" and probably the occasional splitting of a thumb, how they fought prairie fires, how they put in their gardens and hoped for rain, is not recorded, but the answers to most of these questions can easily be imagined by any South Dakota homesteader.

To illustrate this important phase of its frontier history, and to preserve the information these buildings give—which is not available elsewhere—the State of South Dakota should preserve forever these remnants of Fort Sisseton with the same care and interest that it would preserve a written document.

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SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL REVIEW

JULY, 1937

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ONE PURPOSE:

TO TELL SOUTH DAKOTA'S STORY

Published Quarterly by the
South Dakota
Historical Society
Pierre

THE SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TRUSTEE OF THE STATE

(Organized, 1901)

The duties of the Society are outlined by Section 9857 of the South Dakota Revised Code of 1919:

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THE MENNONITES IN SOUTH DAKOTA

By John D. Unruh

I

THE SOCIAL ECONOMY OF THE SOUTH DAKOTA MENNONITES

Until recently the distinction between the various branches of the Mennonite Church has not always been clearly drawn. Frequently Hutterian Brethren have been confused with the Mennonites. The Hutterian Brethren differ from the Mennonites in that they believe in owning all things in common. As a matter of fact, they are not Mennonites and do not claim to be. Gertrude Young in her article on "The Mennonites in South Dakota," in "South Dakota Historical Collections," volume X, refers to such statements as the following to bring out this fact: "We Hutterians are not Mennonites." (p. 475). Most writers who have made a careful study of the subject reach this same conclusion. While they have a common origin with the Mennonites, they have never united with the Mennonites and are a much smaller sect, as distinctive as the Quakers or the Mormons, for instance. As in the case of other religious sects the Hutterian Brethren wandered from place to place in Europe, finally going to Russia where many gave up the communistic idea. Some, however, maintained the communistic principles. These lived generally in "colonies" of thirty or forty families. Several of these "colonies" migrated to America in the 1870's, most of them coming to Dakota. During the World War most of these groups migrated to Canada so that in 1932, only three Hutterian Brethren colonies still remained in the state. These three groups had a total membership of 390 individuals, including men, women and children.

On the other hand the Mennonites differ little from the communicants of any other Protestant denomination. Their views on war are similar to those of the Quakers. They

do not live in colonies anymore than do the Presbyterians or Methodists. They have been made the subject of discussion largely because they have been a more or less closed group. This was no doubt due to their frequent migrations in Europe—migrations that came primarily because of their objections to undergo military obligations. Large numbers of these people came to Dakota in the 1870's, as in the case of the Hutterian Brethren. In 1932, there were some 4,000 Mennonite communicants in South Dakota, including men, women and children. The limits of this paper will be confined to a discussion of the social and economic activities of the Mennonites, thus slight mention will be made of the Hutterian Brethren.

The majority of Mennonites in South Dakota are tillers of the soil. A conservative estimate reveals that more than ninety per cent of the Mennonite population is dependent on farming for a livelihood.¹ This is not novel. Farming has ever been the major industry of the Mennonites. Mennonite refugees who found their way to the deltas of the Vistula in Prussia during the sixteenth century were industrious farmers. Noblemen there soon recognized their skill in being able to turn the swampy and unfruitful estates into profitable land. The liberal invitation of Catherine II of Russia was a similar recognition. William Penn also recognized their qualities. He visited them and wrote letters asking them to form a settlement in Pennsylvania. More recently Canadian writers have referred to the agricultural skill of the Mennonites. "Wherever these people settled their Dutch thrift and industry caused the wilderness to blossom as a rose."²

Farming, then, is a traditional and successful occupation with the Mennonites. This perhaps accounts for the fact that they have proved to be such skillful farmers. Certain characteristics stand out in the German Mennonite farmer. First, he looks for good land. Lifelong training in the cultivation of the ground has proved a beneficial aid in the

¹ This estimate is based on answers to a questionnaire sent to the ministers of the Mennonite churches in South Dakota.

² Stevenson, J. A. MENNONITE PROBLEM IN CANADA. "The Nation" 107:551. Nov. 9, 1918.

selection of a fruitful soil. Frequent wandering has enabled him to become familiar with various types of soil. These factors have thus been instrumental in developing a careful soil scrutiny in the average Mennonite farmer.³

Secondly, he is thorough and patient in his labors. He aims always at producing the largest possible yield per acre. This has made crop rotation a necessity. During the seventies farmers in Turner county began to pay more attention to the production of winter wheat. It was found to be of better quality than spring wheat and at the same time a surer crop. The Swan Lake "Press" took occasion to indicate that the Russians were beating the Yanks at wheat growing.⁴

The reason must be attributed to the thoroughness of the German farmer. He plowed deeper and thus assured a better sub-soil for the grain.⁵ He cleared his land carefully of stones. A visitor to the Hutterische Colony of Bon Homme county in the seventies probably summarized the secret of the German farmer's success when he wrote: "They get the most out of the soil, utilizing every square foot under cultivation and introducing many profitable specialties which an American would never bother his head about."⁶ The wheat grown by the Dakota Mennonites was of a local variety. The Hutchinson county Mennonites grew a great deal of spring wheat of the Blue Stem variety.⁷ The Kansas Mennonites were instrumental in introducing Turkey (Turkey Red) wheat into the United States. Turkey wheat was of the hard variety, known generally as winter wheat. It showed amazing vitality in resisting drouth, wind, and other detrimental climatic factors.⁸ Very little of this wheat was grown in Dakota. It seemed to be more adaptive to the Kansas soil.

³ The writer has passed through the various Mennonite communities in Minnesota, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, California, and South Dakota and has been impressed with the careful selections of land. While not always in possession of the best land in each state, certainly the Mennonite farmers do not farm the poorest.

⁴ The Swan Lake PRESS. Oct. 10, 1873.

⁵ Personal interview.

⁶ Yankton PRESS AND DAKOTIAN. July 23, 1877.

⁷ Personal interview.

⁸ U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, FARMERS' BULLETIN, 1535, p. 4-5. Wash., Govt. print. off., 1929. Turkey wheat is the most widely grown variety of wheat in the United States. In 1924, 14,000,000 acres were grown.

Flax was also grown by the Mennonite farmers in South Dakota during the early years. Farmers discovered that flax yielded abundantly on new land. However, it quickly exhausted the soil. Consequently, the farmers usually turned to wheat after two or three seasons of flax.⁹ The practice of sowing flax on newly broken land is still common. The Mennonites who settled in Sully and Spink counties after 1915 raised abundant harvests of flax.¹⁰

Frugality is another characteristic of the Mennonite farmer. His diet as a rule is simple, furniture plain, and clothing generally not extravagant.¹¹

The large barns on most farms in Mennonite communities testify to a consideration for the livestock. To a certain extent the barns also indicate the progress that has been made by the farmer. An interesting contrast noticeable on many farms is that between the "old" or first barn and the "new" or second barn. The older barns as a rule were small and served at once as granaries and machine sheds in addition to the regular functions. Hardly ever could more than five or ten loads of hay be stored in the hay loft. The new barns are much larger and generally permit as many as forty or fifty loads of hay, as well as hundreds of bushels of grain, to be stored for the winter.

Not only do the barns indicate the progress of the pioneer, but the houses as well. The smaller older houses that replaced in most cases the sod shanties have been replaced by more "stately mansions," modern in many respects. The older homes are frequently used as summer kitchens.

Still another characteristic must be pointed out. This pertains to the activities of the farmer's wife. The pioneer woman oftentimes worked alongside of her husband. This is perhaps more true in German Mennonite communities than in other farming communities. Even today, although the

⁹ Personal interview.

¹⁰ Faust, A. B. *THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES*. v. 1, p. 131; v. 2, p. 29. Contains an interesting summary, as stated by Dr. Benjamin Rush, of the sixteen cardinal virtues of the Pennsylvania German fathers. Dr. Rush was a Philadelphia physician and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

¹¹ *IBID.* v. 2, p. 20.

custom has greatly declined because of the introduction of labor saving machines, quite a number of women can be seen working in the fields when one drives through a Mennonite community.¹²

A final characteristic involves a certain degree of pride in keeping farms in the same family from generation to generation. The pioneer who first established a home during the seventies was much concerned about getting enough land to give each child in the family a farm. It was a source of satisfaction to many of these old pioneers later to see their children carry on farm work on the land that was homesteaded back in the seventies. While the original family possession remained relatively the same in size, the portion falling to each heir became smaller. Where the father was the recipient of a quarter section of land, he in turn was able to leave his children only eighty, forty, or perhaps even twenty acres, depending, of course, on the size of the family.

This desire on the part of the parents to leave their children in possession of considerable land sometimes has proved unfortunate. Before the World War the Hutterites west and north of Freeman became somewhat alarmed lest future opportunities for buying land would be curtailed. Most of these farmers were, at the time, living in comfortable circumstances.¹³ Real estate agents sensed the situation and were able to lead many of them to Beadle, Sully, and Spink counties. Land in those counties could be had at very reasonable prices. Since good prices were obtained for the possessions in Hutchinson and McCook counties, many more acres could be bought in these northern counties. A farmer who owned one or two quarters in Hutchinson county would frequently buy as many as seven quarters in Sully county.¹⁴ Many bought more land than they could pay for and consequently went into debt. This was not considered an evil because the additional land, it was thought, would enable them to make enough money in a few years to make up for the deficit. Not only did they buy too much land, but many other farm improvements were made under the

¹² During the harvest season women can frequently be seen in fields.

¹³ Personal interview.

¹⁴ *IBID.*

spur of wartime prices. When prices after the war fell, and lack of rainfall resulted in crop failures, these farmers found themselves in dire straits. The net result was that most of them lost their farms, renting what in many instances used to be their own land.¹⁵ The majority of these farmers now have occasion to regret keenly their movement to the northern counties. Not only did it prove unfortunate for those who made the move but in many instances also for those who stayed. The Mennonites who did not move were reluctant to let the land pass into strange hands and consequently bought most of it. Some were not in a position to handle these deals financially and during the hard times that followed the Coolidge prosperity were threatened by foreclosures.¹⁶

How general this movement was can be gleaned from the census reports for 1915 and 1925. The movement to Beadle county started in 1905. In 1915, there were 437 Mennonites in the county.¹⁷ McCook county reported 259 Mennonites in 1915, Sully reported none, while Spink listed 238.¹⁸ In 1925, the Mennonite population in the above named counties had increased to the following extent: McCook, 392; Sully, 107; Beadle, 466; and Spink, 329.¹⁹ During the same period the Mennonite population of Hutchinson county decreased from 1992 to 1312, and that of Turner county from 1358 to 1232.²⁰ This would indicate that the exodus was largely from Hutchinson county.

The general opinion now is that clever real estate agents were able to exploit the insatiable desire for more land on the part of the Mennonites. In many cases the agents were Mennonites themselves, reaping large profits.²¹

It would be inaccurate to hold that every Mennonite farmer possesses these characteristics that have been briefly reviewed. The movement into the northern counties de-

¹⁵ IBID.

¹⁶ IBID.

¹⁷ THIRD CENSUS OF THE STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA. Pierre, 1915. p. 56-57; FOURTH CENSUS OF THE STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA. Pierre, 1925. p. 169-170.

¹⁸ IBID.

¹⁹ IBID.

²⁰ Personal interview. The large decrease in Hutchinson county was due in part to the movement of the Hutterian Brethren to Canada.

²¹ Personal interview.

scribed above indicates that costly errors have been made. Certainly, it does not follow that every one is thorough in his farm work. Nor does it follow that all are frugal. The much heralded Coolidge prosperity caused many a Mennonite farmer to become involved too heavily in farm investments. A prolonged period of depression consequently will take its toll of foreclosures. Yet, as far as generalizations can be made, the characteristics typify the average Mennonite farmer.

Mennonite farmers have frequently distinguished themselves along agricultural lines. The following clipping taken from a Yankton paper during the early nineties is of interest: "John Unruh, a Turner county farmer, living near Childs-town, clipped 18,000 pounds of wool from his flock of sheep this spring."²² Another clipping taken from a Freeman paper reveals the following: "Prime steers from the feed lots of Henry Jacob Waltner of Marion, South Dakota, established the day's top today and sold highest of the current month at \$9.50 per hundred weight. . . The cattle were high grade Aberdeen Angus raised and prepared for market by Mr. Waltner, who is a regular shipper to this market and a frequent market topper with black cattle from his herd."²³

During the nineteen twenties considerable attention was devoted to the raising of pure bred livestock and many Mennonite farmers were well represented with their showings at the South Dakota State Fair as well as the various county fairs. Such Mennonite farmers as Benjamin C. Graber, John P. Kleinsasser, Jacob L. Tschetter, Rudolph Graber, Albert Kaufman, and Charles J. Gering were frequent blue-ribbon winners. As a grower of pure bred Duroc Jersey hogs, Charles J. Gering received perhaps the most publicity. During the eight years from 1920 to 1928 when he entered competition at the State Fair held in Huron, he amassed a total of fifty-two premiums. On two occasions, 1921 and 1926,

²² PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN. Sept. 10, 1892. John Unruh is a son of Daniel Unruh who was the leader of the first group of Mennonites to establish in Dakota in 1873. Unruh's flock of sheep frequently numbered as many as 4,000. It generally took six men approximately three weeks to shear the flock.

²³ Freeman COURIER. Feb. 18, 1932. Reprinted from the Sioux City DAILY LIVESTOCK RECORD.

some of his hogs were of Grand Champion caliber, the secret ambition of every pure bred grower.²⁴

The activities of Henry P. Preheim as an exhibitor of corn and wheat, grown on his farm, are of interest. Mr. Preheim first began to exhibit his products in 1921. Since then he has become the possessor of almost a hundred premiums, mostly for corn. In 1928, he took some of his corn and wheat to the International Live Stock Exposition, Grain and Hay Department, held at the Union Stock Yards, Chicago. Here ten ears of his corn netted him a third place premium. His wheat samples also warranted premiums but of lower rank.²⁵

No attempt has been made to list the winners of exhibitors at county fairs, nor has even an attempt been made to exhaust the State Fair premium winners. These names have been mentioned only to illustrate the prominence gained by those who have perhaps taken greater pride and interest in such activities.

While the majority of the Mennonites in South Dakota are farmers, some have gone into business. There does not seem to be any one type of business establishment that courts the Mennonites in particular. The Mennonite Church of Freeman reports 22 out of its total membership of 175 in business.²⁶ The establishments include garages, filling stations, general merchandise stores, a drug store, jewelry shop, farmers' co-operative associations, a chain chick hatchery, a weekly paper, and a bank.

The tendency for farmers to better their breeds of livestock and poultry has led to the establishment of two thriving business institutions centered in Freeman. The one came in response to a demand on the part of the farmers in the vicinity for better feed rations. In the early twenties

²⁴ Unfortunately Charles J. Gering met a premature death during the summer of 1931. His collection of premiums is carefully preserved by his wife and makes a most interesting spectacle for the welcome visitor. Of the 52 ribbons, 8 are for first place, 19 for second place, and 7 for third place.

²⁵ Personal interview. Two beautiful silver loving cups grace the living room in the Preheim home. These were won at the South Dakota Crop Show held at Sioux Falls, Jan. 13-15, 1931, for exhibiting the best single ear of corn and the best bushel of corn.

²⁶ Questionnaire.

Albert Kaufman, a farmer who specialized in the raising of pure bred Poland China hogs, began to experiment with different mixtures of feed. When he found that certain combinations were beneficial both for his hogs and poultry, neighboring farmers began to come to him for similar mixtures. In response to this demand he began to mix his feed combinations on a small scale for commercial purposes. This was in 1925. By 1927, the demand increased to such an extent that he moved to Freeman and established the Park Lane Mineral Company. Not only does the company prepare different feed rations, but it has a grinding mill where farmers bring their grain to be ground for stock feeding purposes. So rapidly did the business increase that in 1930, thirty-two carloads of feed were mixed and sold to South Dakota farmers. Five men were employed in the mill while one traveled through the neighboring counties acting as a salesman for the products.²⁷

The other establishment made its appearance largely because of the increased profits in the poultry industry. The poultry industry made tremendous strides during the last decade. It is estimated that the average flock of chickens on Mennonite farms has increased from 200 to nearly 500 during the ten year period.²⁸ No longer is the poultry industry looked upon merely as a side line. It has come to be a major industry with many farmers. Such items as the following can frequently be found in the Freeman and Marion papers: "Joseph D. Kaufman is installing a new 7,000 egg incubator on his poultry farm southwest of Marion. He recently completed a poultry house that is complete in all latest details."²⁹ Another item states: "Joseph J. Preheim is classed as the 'poultry king' in East Freeman. For the past two months his flock of White Leghorns are producing a case of eggs daily. Of course he has 600 chickens and poultry with him is a business proposition. They are housed in a modern building, fed and cared for properly, and culled closely."³⁰ As a matter of fact, Jacob J. Gering, also of East

²⁷ Personal interview.

²⁸ *IBID.*

²⁹ The Marion RECORD. Jan. 18, 1929.

³⁰ The Freeman COURIER. Jan. 14, 1932.

Freeman, probably should bear the distinction of being the "poultry king" of the community. His flock averages 1,000 birds. During the laying season these birds produce about eight cases of eggs a week. The chickens are housed in two modernly equipped poultry houses, one of which is 20 feet wide and 100 feet long, the other being somewhat smaller.³¹

This development of the poultry industry led to custom hatching. Jacob T. Gross who for fifteen years operated a creamery in Freeman sold it in 1929, and established a chick hatchery. Within the brief span of three years the concern has grown remarkably. It is now the largest accredited hatchery plant in the state. Eight hatcheries are operated in as many towns.³² Although the actual hatching season lasts only from February to about the middle of June, these hatcheries are open throughout the year. The men who operate the plants buy poultry and cull flocks for the farmers during the other months of the year. During the busiest season of the year as many as twelve men are employed in the various plants. Mr. Gross estimates that approximately 450,000 chicks were hatched by the Gross Hatcheries during the spring of 1932. He is an ardent booster for the industry and spares no efforts to familiarize himself with the latest developments.³³

The First National Bank of Freeman is another business institution controlled entirely by Mennonites. Like the great banking house of old, Jay Cooke and Company, it is believed by the public to be as "solid as the eternal hills." In its report of July 5, 1932, the paid in capital stock was listed at \$35,000. The report also revealed a surplus of \$35,000 with \$3,729.41 listed as undivided profits. Deposits amounted to \$437,913.11.³⁴ Other banks that have a liberal sprinkling of Mennonite stockholders are the Merchants State Bank of Freeman, the Dolton State Bank of Dolton, and the Farmer's Trust and Savings Bank of Marion.

Still another Mennonite enterprise that has played a significant part in most of the Mennonite communities in the

³¹ Personal interview.

³² Three brothers are interested in the firm, Joseph, John, and the founder, Jacob T. Gross. The hatcheries are located in Menno, Freeman, Armour, Viborg, Bridgewater, Canistota, and Emery.

³³ Personal interview.

³⁴ Freeman COURIER. July 7, 1932.

state, is the weekly paper, the Freeman "Courier," published for over thirty years by Mr. J. J. Mendel. It has over twelve hundred subscribers and reaches practically every Mennonite family in the state.

The foregoing discussion on the business activities of the Mennonites deals almost exclusively with the Mennonites in the vicinity of Freeman. That the Mennonites in other parts of the state have not entered business was revealed in answers to a questionnaire sent to the ministers of the twenty Mennonite churches in the state. Queries pertaining to the number of Mennonites engaged in the various occupations, such as farming, teaching, law, medicine, missionary and ecclesiastical, as well as those that pertained to the political activities of the Mennonites, were included in the questionnaire. Data for eighteen of the churches were complete, for two of the churches partially complete.

II

EDUCATIONAL, PROFESSIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES OF THE MENNONITES IN SOUTH DAKOTA

The following table showing the professional distribution of Mennonite church members is based on answers to a questionnaire sent to the ministers of the several churches.

Teaching	106
Medicine (includes dentistry)	13
Law	4
Chiropractic	4
Missionary (home and foreign)	29
Ministry	30

Education

Freeman Junior College has been the predominating factor in enabling so many Mennonites to enter the teaching profession. The college was first incorporated on December 14, 1900, under the name of "South Dakota Mennonite College."³⁵ It was not formally opened, however, until the

³⁵ The name of the college has been changed twice. In 1921, Freeman College became the official name; since 1927, Freeman Junior College has been used, although officially, under the articles of incorporation, the name is still Freeman College.

fall of 1903. The Mennonites of South Dakota were determined to maintain the German language. Public schools were generally taught by teachers who spoke the English language. Consequently, instruction in German appeared to be neglected. It was largely in response to this situation that the college was brought into existence. Another purpose was to provide facilities for Biblical education.³⁶ Later there developed also the demand for higher education. The course of study during the early years did not comprise much more than common school subjects. Even beginners were admitted when the school was first opened. New courses of study were added as the need for them seemed apparent. The school now conducts the following departments:

1. High School
2. Normal Department
3. Junior College
4. Four-year Bible course³⁷

The institution is not under the direct management of the Mennonite Church but is controlled by a private corporation, with membership open to anyone who contributes \$100 to the college fund. Each \$100 contribution entitles the donor to one vote in the corporation. No one can, however, at any time cast more than ten votes at a corporation meeting. While membership in the corporation is open to anyone the corporation is nevertheless made up almost entirely of men and women who are members of the various Mennonite churches in the state. Only members of Mennonite churches can be elected to the Board of Trustees.³⁸ While not under the direct control of the Mennonite churches, the school none the less bears a vital relation to them.

Approximately 400 students have graduated from the school in its twenty-nine years of operation. One-half of these have taught school for a time at least. Many have used the teaching profession merely as a means to an end.

³⁶ Ortman, F. C. DIE ENTSTEHUNGS GESCHICHTE VON FREEMAN COLLEGE. "The Lark." Freeman, S. Dak., 1924. p. 72-73. The Lark is the biannual yearbook published by the students of the college.

³⁷ The high school and the normal department are accredited by the South Dakota Department of Public Instruction. The junior college is accredited by the University of South Dakota.

³⁸ Articles of incorporation. Revised. Freeman, S. Dak., June 16, 1917. Article 4, p. 2.

Several years of teaching enabled the individual to earn enough money to continue his education, enter business, or else, begin to farm. Comparatively few of the teachers have taught in high school or college. Rural schools have attracted most Mennonite teachers. During the 1931-1932 school term there were forty Mennonite rural teachers in Hutchinson and Turner counties.³⁹ At the same time there were only twelve high school teachers of Mennonite faith in the same counties.⁴⁰ There were only about a score of Mennonite high school teachers in the entire state. Only sixty-four of the entire membership of the Mennonite churches in the state were holders of college degrees.⁴¹

There is evidence in the Mennonite communities of the state that the college has served as a contributing factor toward progress. The 400 graduates have generally gone back to their respective communities and have played leading roles in the various community affairs. With but a few exceptions, the 64 degree holders mentioned above have been graduates of the college.

Professions

The twenty Mennonite churches of South Dakota could report only four practicing lawyers amongst their members in 1932. There were thirteen dentists and physicians of Mennonite faith in the state in 1932. In the early history of the church the law profession was frowned upon. This was not so true of the medical profession. Both, however, presented many temptations that were obnoxious to the Mennonite conscience. In the former there was always the conflict with the doctrine of non-resistance and the taking of an oath. In the latter there was the danger that a man might become so engrossed in scientific inquiry that he might sacrifice his own soul. The majority of the church communicants are beginning to look upon these professions with a more tolerant attitude. Those who are in favorable financial circumstances are zealously entering these professions.

³⁹ This information comes from a careful check of the names of the teachers obtained from the respective county superintendents of schools.

⁴⁰ Five of these were teaching in the junior college, and all but four were one time graduates of the college.

⁴¹ Questionnaire.

The work of the Tieszen Clinic, located at Marion, is of special interest and space may be allowed to describe it. Derk Tieszen, who was the leader of one party of Mennonite settlers in 1874, was adept in adjusting dislocations and reducing fractures. Frontier life, with physicians few and far scattered, found this an invaluable service. His charges were extremely nominal, and, it is reported, he always refused a fee for service rendered on Sunday.⁴² Two of his sons, Peter D. Tieszen and Derk D. Tieszen, who assisted their father, continued the work after his death.

The early practice was largely of a local nature. People who wanted treatments would drive to the farm homes of either one of the two brothers. By 1926, the practice had grown to such proportions that Peter moved to Marion and opened an office. Here his three sons, Henry, Isaac, and Joseph were associated with him. A large two-story brick clinic was built in 1927. A twenty-two room hotel had been built two years before. The practice of Derk Tieszen also increased so rapidly that he, too, moved to Marion, building a two-story brick hotel in 1928. In this building he reserved rooms for his clinic.

So lucrative had the practice of these chiropractors become that the little city of Marion took on the aspects of a "boom" in 1928 and 1929. Even in the winter months, when automobile traffic was slow, rooms rented at a premium.⁴³

In the spring of 1928, the main street was paved.⁴⁴ The proprietor of the Hotel Tieszen confided that his twenty-two rooms were always filled. He frequently turned away as many as forty customers who wanted reservations.⁴⁵ The clinic register showed registrations from all states of the union.⁴⁶ Boys on the street amused themselves by comparing the license plates of automobiles from fifteen different states on one afternoon. "Visitors in Marion this week far exceed

⁴² Stoddard, W. H. *TURNER COUNTY PIONEER HISTORY*. Sioux Falls, S. Dak., 1931. p. 70.

⁴³ *Marion RECORD*. Feb. 10, 1928.

⁴⁴ *IBID.* April 6, 1928.

⁴⁵ Personal interview. In the dining hall of the hotel, 80 one-pound loaves of bread were served daily. Frequently as many as 500 guests were accommodated in a day. The local bakery disposed of 400 loaves of bread daily to supply the five or six eating places that had sprung up over night.

⁴⁶ Personal interview. The sign, "25 cents extra for registration before 6 A. M.," was conspicuously displayed over the clerk's desk.

any record to date. Rooms and accommodations are taxed to the limit," the weekly paper reported in October of 1926.⁴⁷

This "boom" period was carried on well into the summer of 1929. A new theatre was built, bids were opened for a new post office building, a produce house was erected, and a Western Union telegraph office was opened in the business section. Many fine residences were erected during the year. Patients came in ever increasing numbers, expecting to be relieved of every conceivable ailment through the "magic" hands of the Tieszens. Gleanings from the Marion "Record" prove highly amusing. "Jack Dempsey may visit Marion," ran a headline on one occasion.⁴⁸ He planned to see the Tieszens about his hand that troubled him somewhat. Dempsey never came, but hundreds of others came because of the publicity.⁴⁹ "Town filled with patients . . . Marion fortunate in having Drs. Tieszen . . . Thousands of people visit Marion each year," are random slants from another article.⁵⁰ The Marion "Record" attributed the progress in Marion to the Tieszens. This is revealed in the following quotation: "The 'Record' is pleased to see the progress which traces back to the location of the Drs. Tieszen in Marion."⁵¹ This same idea was voiced by many people in Marion. The Marion "Record" recorded thus: "Due credit should be given the Drs. Tieszen for this influx of strangers, who are a boost directly or indirectly to every business in Marion."⁵² It is well, however, to bear in mind that during the summer of 1929, everyone seemed to be enjoying prosperous times. The time was ripe for someone to capitalize on an opportunity. The Tieszens did. That their efforts were instrumental in relieving many who had physical ailments is probably true. It is equally true that many were sorely disappointed. Many patients are still being treated, but the "boom" period has passed.

Fifty-nine South Dakota Mennonites have entered missionary and ministerial work. Of the twenty-nine mission-

⁴⁷ Marion RECORD. Oct. 5, 1928.

⁴⁸ IBID. Apr. 26, 1929.

⁴⁹ Peter D. Tieszen does not permit his sons to advertise. He also is reluctant to give out any information as to how many patients he treats.

⁵⁰ Marion RECORD. July 12, 1929.

⁵¹ IBID. Mar. 1, 1929.

⁵² IBID. Oct. 5, 1928.

aries reported by the various congregations, eighteen were classified as being engaged in home mission work while nine were active on foreign fields. Some mission work is carried on with the Indians.⁵³ Some work is also being done among the negroes of North Carolina by the Krimmer-Brueder Gemeinde. Other home mission workers from South Dakota Mennonite churches have gone to mission stations in some of the larger cities of the United States. The foreign workers concentrate their work on China, Africa, and India. It is a practice in all Mennonite churches to hold a missionary offering once a month. The seven General Conference churches in the state contributed \$2,607 for foreign missions, and \$1,249 for home missions during the year 1931.⁵⁴

There were thirty Mennonite ministers of the gospel in South Dakota in 1932.⁵⁵ The majority of them were farmers and in most instances received little or no pay. During the busy seasons some congregations have made it a practice to reimburse the ministers for the hiring of extra help to carry on farm work. Among the General Conference churches the practice of a salaried minister is coming to be more common although the salary per year is seldom very much. From an economic standpoint there is little to lure a man into the ministry in Mennonite circles, yet, strangely enough, there does not seem to be a lack of willing workers. With the increased interest in education among the younger people the Mennonite churches do, however, face a real need in providing for their membership a well trained clergy.

Politics

Politics as a profession has generally been frowned upon by the Mennonites. From the beginning of their history the Mennonites have not been eager to hold public office. The Germantown settlers were frequently embarrassed when men of their choice refused to serve after election to public office.

⁵³ The Mennonites, however, do not maintain a mission among the Indians of South Dakota.

⁵⁴ PROGRAM BERICHT UND REFERATE NEBST STATISTIK DER 40 NÖRDLICHEN DISTRIKT KONFERENZ. Freeman, S. Dak., 1932. Statistical appendix.

⁵⁵ BUNDESBOTE-KALENDER. Berne, Ind., 1932. p. 34-47. This number does not include the half dozen or so Hutterian Brethren ministers.

In fact, a law was passed imposing a fine of three pounds upon any one refusing to serve if elected to office.⁵⁶ In a letter to William Penn in 1703, Franz Pastorius, the founder of the colony, complained of the difficulty of finding persons willing to accept public office. He hoped that the arrival of more immigrants would improve the situation.⁵⁷

This early attitude of Mennonites toward the State was largely a matter of inheritance. Had the State in Europe four centuries ago been what the State represents in America at present, the story would be different. The tendency to discourage any connections with political or governmental affairs was due to two reasons: namely, religious convictions concerning the taking of an oath, and the fact that the holding of certain offices might require them to violate their principles of non-resistance.⁵⁸ There is a general move away from this idea, however, and not infrequently Mennonites are found in state and county offices. Even in the early period of Dakota history a Mennonite name could often be discovered on a political ticket. For example, "The People's Ticket" in 1876, listed Andrew Schrag as one of the candidates for Justice of the Peace for Turner county.⁵⁹ There is no record that he was elected, and his name may have been placed on the ticket merely to popularize it in the Mennonite communities. Townships that had a large Mennonite population would, of course, have a liberal Mennonite representation when delegates were chosen for political conventions. The Childstown delegation to the Republican County Convention of Turner county in 1878, was composed of Joseph Childs, A. Schrag, J. Graber, and J. Schrag.⁶⁰ With the exception of Childs, all of these men were Mennonites.

While such minor offices were frequently held by Mennonites during the entire period under discussion, major offices have not often been held. The first Mennonite to hold a major state office was David D. Wipf, of Freeman,

⁵⁶ Faust. *Op. cit.* v. 2, p. 123.

⁵⁷ *IBID.* Footnote.

⁵⁸ Hartzler, J. E. EDUCATION AMONG THE MENNONITES OF AMERICA. p. 40.

⁵⁹ Swan Lake ERA. Oct. 26, 1876.

⁶⁰ Swan Lake PRESS. Aug. 22, 1878.

who was elected to the office of Secretary of State in 1904, holding that office from 1905 to 1909.⁶¹ Wipf seems to have been the only Mennonite ever to hold an elective state administrative office in South Dakota.

It would not be difficult to list many Mennonite names that have been associated with various county, township, and municipal offices, yet this would not be warranted in a dissertation such as this. Mention will, however, be made of several individuals who have played influential political roles not only in county but also in state affairs.

The career of Jacob Tschetter of Bridgewater is somewhat colorful. He was born in southern Russia in 1857, and came to Dakota in 1875. In 1884, he engaged in the merchandise and live-stock buying business. During the same year he was elected marshal of the city of Bridgewater (most unusual for a Mennonite). The following year he was appointed United States Deputy Marshal by President Grover Cleveland.⁶² While in Bridgewater Tschetter served as alderman, justice of the peace, member of the board of education, and for sixteen consecutive years, mayor of the city. In 1918, he was appointed by Governor Peter Norbeck, as directing manager of the State Board of Charities and Corrections which office he held for six years.⁶³

John C. Graber and John J. Gering are two other men who have played prominent roles in county affairs. Strangely enough, both are members of the same Mennonite congregation, but live in different counties. Graber resides in Freeman while Gering makes his abode in Marion. Both are graduates of the University School of Law at Vermillion. Graber was States Attorney of Hutchinson county from 1919 to 1923, and County Judge from 1923 to 1929. Besides holding various city offices he served one term in the State Senate (1929-1931).⁶⁴ Gering holds the distinction of having

⁶¹ SOUTH DAKOTA LEGISLATIVE MANUAL. Pierre, S. Dak., 1929. p. 13.

⁶² Yankton PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN. Sept. 17, 1896. Tschetter first affiliated with the Democratic party but was dissatisfied with the stand of the party on the money question. In 1896, he changed his party allegiance and supported McKinley for the presidency. He was still a member of the Democratic party at the time of the appointment by Cleveland.

⁶³ Coursey, O. W. WHO'S WHO IN SOUTH DAKOTA. Mitchell, S. Dak., 1913-1925. v. 3, p. 391-398. Mr. Tschetter died on May 30, 1932.

⁶⁴ SOUTH DAKOTA LEGISLATIVE MANUAL. 1929. p. 452.

held four different offices in Turner county: namely, Clerk of Courts, County Commissioner, County Judge, and States Attorney.⁶⁵

Hutchinson and Turner counties are the only counties in the state ever to have had Mennonite representatives in the Legislature. In brief, only nine Mennonites have ever been elected to the Legislature from these counties, and of these only two have represented Turner county. John J. Wipf of Freeman has the longest legislative record, having served six terms in the House (1903-1905, 1909-1913, 1925-1931), and one term in the Senate (1931-1933). P. P. Kleinsasser, also of Freeman, served two terms in the lower body on two occasions (1907-1909, 1917-1919), and two terms in the Senate (1919-1923). D. J. Mendel and A. J. Waltner each served two terms in the lower body, (1909-1913, and 1913-1917, respectively). J. J. Kleinsasser served one term in the House (1925-1927), A. A. Wipf one term in the Senate (1913-1915), and J. C. Graber one term in the Senate (1929-1931). This concludes the list for Hutchinson county.

The only two men of Mennonite faith to represent Turner county in the state Legislature were Joseph K. Schrag (1921-1923), and E. J. Waltner, who served three terms (1927-1933). Both of these men were elected to the lower branch of the Legislature.⁶⁶

It may be of interest to note that all of these men ran for office on the Republican ticket. The great majority of the Mennonites have been closely affiliated with the Republican party from the very first.⁶⁷ What effect the prolonged depression will have on the political affiliations of the Mennonites in South Dakota is largely a matter of conjecture. Many voted the Roosevelt-Garner ticket in the fall of 1932. However, when times will become better, most Mennonites will again become "regular."

⁶⁵ Yankton College. THE YANKTONAIS. Yankton, S. Dak., July, 1932. p. 42. Gering completed his first term as States Attorney on January 1, 1933. In addition to his political interests Gering is also a prolific writer, contributing frequently to weekly papers. Some of his articles have appeared in the South Dakota historical collections, and one, AFTER FIFTY YEARS, 1924, was published in pamphlet form to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the coming of the Mennonites to South Dakota.

⁶⁶ SOUTH DAKOTA LEGISLATIVE MANUAL. 1929. p. 15-85.

⁶⁷ Personal interview.

While Mennonite office seekers are infrequent, the practice of exercising the privilege of the franchise on election day is quite common. There are some, of course, who are indifferent in this matter. Some have religious scruples against voting. The majority of the Mennonites in the state, however, recognize the privilege and make use of it. Among the older women voting is not common, but the younger women are beginning to take an active part in elections.

Religion

The aim of this brief summary of the religious status of the Mennonites in South Dakota is to point out characteristic ideals in matters of Christian life and conduct as well as organization. While not essentially different from other Protestant churches there are certain Mennonite principles which are distinctive.

The Mennonite Church has taught for over four hundred years the pertinent fact that war is an unsuccessful method of settling national and international disputes. It has maintained that war is barbarous and therefore cannot be a proper method of securing peace. War is considered an inhuman practice because it inevitably leads to the taking of human life which is in violation of the teachings of the Scriptures. To maintain this doctrine of non-resistance was one of the primary reasons for migrating to America during the seventies. When the United States became involved in the European conflagration in 1917, this principle of non-resistance therefore was severely tested. The Conscription Act of 1917 had a clause exempting from regular service:

"A member of any well recognized religious sect or organization at present organized and existing and whose existing creed or principles forbid its members to participate in war in any form and whose religious convictions are against war or participation therein in accordance with the creed or principles of said religious organizations, but no person so exempted shall be exempted from service in any capacity that the President shall declare to be non-combatant."⁶⁸

⁶⁸ THE STATUTES AT LARGE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Washington, Apr., 1917 to Mar., 1919. p. 78.

President Wilson did not definitely define non-combatant service until March 20, 1918.⁶⁹ In the meantime Mennonite men entered services which were generally recognized as coming under the head of non-combatant. These included, for the most part, service in the Quartermaster Corps, or service in the Medical Detachments.

A careful check of the county service rolls in South Dakota reveals that eighty-two Mennonite men were called to the training camps during the World War. Nine of these entered regular service, two being killed in action.⁷⁰ Twenty-four of these eighty-two were classed as Conscientious Objectors, while forty-nine were in some form of non-combatant service.⁷¹ Several of the conscientious objectors were confined in prisons until the War Department made provisions for them to be transferred to farms for farm work. Those who were drawn into service later did not have to undergo the unpleasantness of prison life. The men who called for non-combatant service generally entered whole-heartedly upon their duties and acquitted themselves with credit.

To ascertain somewhat definitely the amount of money that was subscribed by the Mennonites for the various bond-sale "drives" is difficult. It has been estimated that the Mennonites in the vicinity of Freeman bought well over \$200,000 worth of bonds and war saving stamps.⁷² This sum should be increased by \$100,000 to include Mennonites in other vicinities. Childstown township, for example, where approximately ninety per cent of the real and personal property was owned by Mennonites, on several occasions went "over the top" when drives were made for the sale of bonds. The allotment for the township for the third liberty loan was \$36,000, and the total amount subscribed was \$38,000.⁷³ The allotment for the fourth loan was \$46,000 while \$49,000 was the total amount subscribed.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Smith. THE COMING OF THE RUSSIAN MENNONITES. p. 273.

⁷⁰ Jacob Hofer of Bridgewater and Jacob D. Schmidt of Marion were the two Mennonites from South Dakota to make the supreme sacrifice. The American Legion Post of Marion is named in honor of Schmidt.

⁷¹ These figures are based on the service rolls available for all counties. The list is substantially accurate.

⁷² This estimate is made by the cashier of the First National Bank of Freeman. This bank handled over \$400,000 worth of bonds and stamps.

⁷³ The Parker NEW ERA. Apr. 25, 1918.

⁷⁴ IBID. Oct. 31, 1918.

Because of the fact that the Church has ever taken a hostile stand toward war, it should not have been expected that the Mennonites of the state would enthusiastically support all war activities. In addition, most Mennonite communities spoke the German language; consequently a combination presented itself that was especially provocative of severe criticism. That most of it was unjust can now be stated with certainty.

The attitude of the Church on the question of marriage is best contained in the following quotation taken from Dr. J. E. Hartzler, who for many years was President of Witmarsum Seminary, a Mennonite institution at Bluffton, Ohio:

"Marriage is an institution ordained by God, an institution in which one man and one woman are united 'in the Lord' for life, a union dissoluble alone by death. And since marriage is for life it should not be entered thoughtlessly with the view that if the union proves unsatisfactory that it may be dissolved. Husband and wife are under equal obligation to do nothing which might endanger its perpetuity. Conditions may arise where love would demand 'separation' for the well being of all concerned, leaving the parties still husband and wife. Legal 'divorce' is never justifiable according to Jesus, neither is a remarriage in the case of separation, so long as both parties live; however, upon the death of either, the remaining party is free to remarry."⁷⁵

Instances of where Mennonite marriages have resulted in divorce are so rare that they are negligible. Separations, likewise, are so infrequent that they may be disregarded. If this is any indication of the stability and sanctity of the home, Mennonite communities have no occasion, as yet, to view with alarm the present wave of broken family ties.⁷⁶

The 86,464 Mennonites of the United States are split into sixteen different organized branches.⁷⁷ This is rather unfortunate, for the leading churches have so many things in common and so few differences that this separation is not justifiable. In general, the attitude of all churches is the same on most matters of doctrine, such as adult baptism,

⁷⁵ Hartzler. Op. cit. p. 44-45.

⁷⁶ Two cases of divorce are definitely known of in the state.

⁷⁷ Mennonite bodies. 1926. p. 8. This figure does not include the Hutterian Brethren.

partaking of the holy communion, marriage, opposition to war and the taking of an oath. Most of the differences are secondary and rather trivial. They pertain largely to some outward religious ceremony. The form of church government, in general, is the same in the different bodies of Mennonites. The local church is autonomous, deciding all matters affecting itself. Conferences have been organized to which appeals may be made. All decisions of the conference are, however, presented to the individual congregation for ratification or rejection.

There are twenty organized Mennonite churches in South Dakota.⁷⁸ Of these, six are classed as unaffiliated or independent Mennonite congregations. They adhere to the tenets of the Confession of Faith adopted by the Mennonites in Dort, Holland, in 1632, and have not affiliated with any of the other organized conferences. There is a tendency toward an extreme conservatism which is based on the principle that the other churches have become too liberal and consequently have deviated from the "faith of the fathers." This conservatism demands uniformity in faith and conformity in action. In some of these churches sermons are still read from sermon books, musical instruments are not permitted in the church, and voting and office holding are frowned upon and regarded as evidences of mingling with "the world." In general, an atmosphere of backwardness prevails. In many instances these churches have been organized by small groups of people who became dissatisfied with their former church affiliation.

Seven churches affiliate with the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America.⁷⁹ This conference was organized in 1859, and in point of membership ranks second with the various branches of the Mennonites in the United States.⁸⁰ The General Conference churches in the state constitute the more progressive element. For example, most members with college degrees are found in this group

⁷⁸ Personal interview. Only three Hutterian Brethren colonies remained in the state in 1932: one in Bon Homme county with 180 members; another at Lake Byron in Beadle county with 120 members; still another at Alexandria with 90 colonists—a total of 390, including men, women, and children.

⁷⁹ Officially only five affiliate with the general conference, but the other two are members also for all practical purposes.

⁸⁰ Mennonite bodies. 1926. p. 41. The total membership in the United States was recorded to be 21,582.

as well as the members who have gone into business and the various professions. Baptism is by sprinkling.

There are four churches in the state that affiliate with the Krimmer Brueder-Gemeinde, and one that affiliates with the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America.⁸¹ In matters of doctrine the two bodies are in general harmony with other Mennonite bodies, except that they baptize by immersion.⁸² Here, however, there is a distinction; the Krimmer Brueder-Gemeinde baptizes forward, the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America baptizes backward.⁸³

The remaining two churches belong to the Conference of the Defenseless Mennonites of North America and the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, respectively. The former is a small branch, listing less than a thousand communicants in the United States.⁸⁴ The doctrine is the same as that of the other Mennonite bodies. There is a small difference in the form of baptism, which rite is performed while the individual stands in water but is not submerged.⁸⁵ There is also a noticeable form of conservatism evident in this body. Several characteristics distinguish the Mennonite Brethren in Christ from other branches of Mennonites. One pertains to entire sanctification as a separate work of grace by which the person is cleansed from sin and set apart for the continual service of God. The other characteristic concerns divine healing of the sick by the "laying on of hands, and anointing with oil, and praying over them."⁸⁶ Baptism is by immersion. The latter church has but a mere handful of members.

A closer union between these twenty churches in the state would be greatly beneficial to a constructive religious, social, and educational program.

⁸¹ Questionnaire.

⁸² Mennonite bodies. 1926. p. 59.

⁸³ *IBID.*

⁸⁴ *IBID.* p. 72.

⁸⁵ Personal interview.

⁸⁶ Mennonite bodies. 1926. p. 53.

ALL THE DAYS OF MY LIFE*

By Elaine Goodale Eastman

Whether we make events, or they make us, is a question which will probably never be satisfactorily answered. We like to believe that we owe our victories to ourselves, our defeats to the mischievous assaults of adverse circumstances! Perhaps—as the new psychologists tell us—the main trends of character, determining life's bent, are irrevocably fixed in advance; if not at birth, then during those first seven decisive years.

My father, Henry Sterling Goodale, was a son of the Puritans—a Massachusetts Yankee with a transcendental bias. A man of slight physique and bookish habit, his choice of a vocation was probably dictated by a passion for country life, together with an innate shrinking from the scramble of the market-place. With characteristic sentiment and lack of practical wisdom, he elected for his patrimony a rugged hill-top farm lying at one end of a sparsely settled township in the Berkshires, three to five steep mountain miles from church or store, doctor or post-office.

This poetic-looking young man in the middle twenties—he had grave dark-blue eyes and waving nut-brown locks worn rather long—confessed to falling in love with the view. It is still a singularly appealing glimpse of blue distance, harmoniously framed in the wooded slopes of near-by hills. Doubtless, too, his spirit responded to the promise of an austere tranquility—a self-contained peace.

An indulgent father purchased for him the coveted seven hundred acres of thrush-haunted woodland and brook-fed meadow, with a century-old, low-browed Dutch farmhouse snugly ensconced behind a pair of venerable lilacs. Not so much as a neighbor's chimney-smoke profaned that vestal solitude! "Hath not old custom made this life more sweet than that of painted pomp?"

My mother, Dora Hill Read, the pretty, penniless daughter of an old Colonial family, was hardly born to fit so

*First published as an introduction to the author's book of poems, *THE VOICE AT EVE*, Chicago, The Bookfellers, 1930. It is reprinted by her permission.

primitive a setting. However straitened in means, they were people of some pretensions, and she herself a city-bred girl of fine and fastidious tastes, passionately craving beauty and distinction, unused to hard work and indeed somewhat spoiled, as the "baby" of a large and affectionate household.

Their romance culminated on a gorgeous October day, beside the silver thread of a "nameless water-fall" deep in many-colored woods. My father's betrothal gift was perfectly in character—it was a richly bound copy of "In Memoriam." This was in 1861. The rattle of musketry on Southern battle-fields could not drown out for them the sound of wedding bells at midsummer of the following year. It was in October of 1863, in an upper chamber of the brown cot already beginning to be transformed into something sylvan and idyllic by warmly sheltering maples and clinging masses of Virginia creeper, that their first-born came to them—a daughter—and was fancifully named for Tennyson's love-lorn Elaine.

It is not strange, perhaps, that the golden-haired toddler "lisp'd in numbers" from her infancy. The story goes that I crooned quaint rhymes of unknown origin while still in my black-walnut crib, and that I could read "fluently" at three years of age. It was then my sister Dora came to be my closest and almost my sole companion for seventeen eager, young, aspiring years.

The two later children of the family were too far removed from us in age to be really companionable at that period of our lives, though dearly loved and welcomed. I was fourteen when my only brother was born—an event whose thrilling implications marked the transition to womanhood. But Dora and I were inseparable both by night and day. We slept, studied and played together. Together we wandered for long, blissful hours over pasture and meadow, canvassed the secrets of beast, bird and tree, and came as near to sharing every thought and dream as two sisters can.

Soon we were both scribbling "minute verses" on stray scraps of paper or the backs of discarded envelopes. Next, the "Child's Monthly Gem" burst into laboriously uneven print, to be followed several years later by the somewhat

more mature "Sky Farm Life." These amateur journals, of which the Poets' Corner was decidedly the leading feature, were read aloud to the family of an evening, at more or less regular intervals, by Elaine, as editor. I vaguely recall some plays composed for home production by a diminutive cast, and sometimes calling forth shouts of laughter which sadly disconcerted the author, who took her creations with becoming seriousness. One in particular anticipated "Chanticleer," in that all of the characters (who spouted much bad verse) were hens or other farmyard creatures. We were not allowed to read "novels," and when I began secretly to write one, at about the age of eight or nine, it was with a sense of enormous daring that I guided my angelically lovely heroine through her quite innocuous adventures.

My father was always a friendly soul, with a rich flow of native humor and good-fellowship. Mother, however—an aristocrat by temperament and conviction, and painfully conscious of the disadvantages inseparable from our mode of living—chose to remain aloof from such society as offered, and was doubtless termed "stuck-up" and proud by our country neighbors. We children were never permitted to attend the district school and had none save imaginary playmates—personified trees and streams and people out of books. We dipped freely into a small but choice library of standard and classic literature. I can still see myself as a tiny girl, lying flat on the floor in one corner, completely buried in Percy's "Reliques," a huge tome which I could barely lift from the shelf but which had for me an uncanny fascination.

It is plain to be seen that the home circle virtually made our world—a microcosm in itself. However, I must not omit from the formative influences of childhood the only two grandparents whom I really knew. My mother's mother, whose maiden name was Eleanor Lyon, made her home with us for ten years before her death in 1878. We looked upon the dear invalid as our household saint. She had seemingly risen above hardship and sorrow to a plane of all but unearthly sweetness—a spiritual loveliness mirrored in calm blue eyes, clear white skin, a face framed in clusters of

silvery curls peeping from beneath the invariable cap of ribbon and lace.

Chester Goodale, my father's father, owned farms and marble quarries and dwelt in a pleasant village homestead, only five miles away. He was a self-made man of sturdy physique and character, simple yet shrewd, reserved but genial, and lived to be ninety-two in exceptional vigor of body and mind. I loved him much.

Three or four of our parents' friends, who occasionally visited on the mountain, were the objects of a certain childish hero-worship and are still vividly remembered. Indeed, throughout my girlhood I invariably preferred the society and conversation of my elders to that of boys and girls of my own age, even when the latter was attainable. Although, strange to say, I had several "admirers" before I was twenty, their respectful advances aroused only a most unconscionable indignation!

Mother had taught before her marriage, and early took upon herself the main responsibility for our education. She had a genuine love of knowledge—a real gift for imparting it—and studied along with her pupils with the zest and fervor of a born intellectual. She developed a firm belief in "women's rights," and became what is now known as a feminist—in theory, at least. Although writing with some facility both in verse and prose, and now and then achieving the best magazines, her unquestioned abilities were never fully developed—owing as much, perhaps, to lack of emotional balance as to the chafing bonds of circumstance. Always a handsome woman with a dominating personality, tall and stately, with piercing grey eyes and dark hair early silvered, I adored her as a child, and was congratulated many years later upon my "stylish mother!"

Besides the daily home lessons, which were rarely allowed to lapse, we had tutors in languages and what not, as opportunity served. When I was eighteen and my sister fifteen, we completed two terms in a select boarding-school in New York City. I was then supposed to be "prepared for college," and was actually offered a scholarship in the new

"Harvard Annex," (now Radcliffe,) but we were too poor to avail ourselves of this opportunity.

Having few means of comparison, my sister and I were extremely naive, and for a long time quite unconscious of being at all "precocious" (hateful word!) or in any way different from other children. So far as we knew, all "cultivated the Muse," (one of mother's rhetorical phrases,) for their own and the family's pleasure. Not one of us at home but wielded a ready pen—my father's dialect verse brought down the house at meetings of his agricultural society, and his most finished effort in this line, "Does Farmin' Pay?", appeared years after, with Frost illustrations, in "Harper's Magazine."

Both parents, however, were scrupulous about correcting or in any way tampering with our childish productions, which remained exactly as written. Not until stray numbers of "Sky Farm Life" had been passed from hand to hand among a small coterie of friends with cultivated tastes did it apparently occur to any one that they might conceivably be shared with a wider circle. Some urged immediate publication; others advised against it, on the ground of possible injury to the young poets.

When Mrs. Mary Mapes Dodge, the gifted and sympathetic editor of "St. Nicholas," obtained through private channels a sight of certain copies of verses, and thereupon chose a group of six to appear in the magazine under the caption: "Poems by Two Little American Girls," Dora was ten years old and I thirteen. Among them was one of mine written at the age of eleven, "Ashes of Roses," still widely sung in the setting by Woodman and to some extent in other versions. A year or two later, in the fall of 1878, "Apple Blossoms" appeared under the Putnam imprint, to be received with a surprising rush of favor by press and public. It promptly went into several editions, was handsomely bound as a gift-book, and my dear father treasured to the day of his death many kindly letters from Longfellow, Stedman, Colonel Higginson and other notables of the period, as well as scrap-books crammed to bursting with hundreds of clippings. It pleased him mightily, I remember,

when "H. H." wrote: "Really there has never before been a time in literature when a young thrush and a bobolink have printed a book!"

A few interested strangers—a very few—found their way to our rustic Arcadia after the publication of "Apple Blossoms," which was followed during the next several years by three more little volumes of a like simplicity. The "Journal of a Farmer's Daughter"—girlish musings half in verse, half poetic prose—was first printed serially in the "Christian Union," and our contributions appeared not infrequently in the magazines. Otherwise, life went on much as before, barring the brief and rather uncongenial experience of boarding-school. However, certain disharmonies made themselves felt more and more, and I think that serious responsibilities as well as an underlying earnestness of purpose discouraged the development of any undue conceit.

For, notwithstanding this unexpected small success with its accompanying modest earnings, the family fortunes were at a low ebb. Mother was at heart a disappointed woman and gradually sank into a state of nervous invalidism. At last my father gave up the unequal struggle—he had indeed lost all his original capital in repeated attempts to make a living by one or another farming specialty—and turned sadly to a salaried post in New York City. Mother, with the three younger children, took refuge in her childhood home in Connecticut, where her only brother then lived. It seemed up to me, as the eldest, to try my unfledged wings!

To the inexperienced girl of barely twenty there came two tentative offers, and mother decreed that I should accept the invitation of General Armstrong,¹ (whom we had met and greatly admired), to lend a hand in a novel experiment then making at his famous school for freedmen at Hampton, Virginia. There something over a hundred young Indians, for the most part of adult age, were trying to acquire in three to five years the elements of a trade, or of

¹Samuel Chapman Armstrong, 1839-1893, founder and head, Hampton (Virginia) Normal and Industrial Institute, 1868-1892. He stressed education of head, heart, and hand of the colored races. Many South Dakota Indians came under his influence while attending Hampton.

housewifery, together with a fresh orientation of self and the beginnings of an English education.

I went down alone to Hampton in the fall of 1883, mentally rather mature for my years, socially as awkward, shy and unsophisticated as can well be imagined. I was the "baby" of the faculty—an able and devoted group—and owe much to the kind friends I found there. Hampton was my normal school, my college, my introduction to the world, and I have always believed that its founder has been the strongest influence in my life, after my own parents. In the sunlight of his generous understanding, I quickly forgot my homesickness and began to grasp something of the teacher's humane and many-sided art. I caught fire from that irresistible enthusiasm, making bold almost at once to spread the new gospel of opportunity for the red man, through impassioned articles in the "Independent" and other leading journals.

The General saw to it that I had every chance to broaden my knowledge of Indians and deepen my devotion to the cause so eagerly embraced. He personally escorted me to an early Commencement at Carlisle, Captain Pratt's noted school, long the largest and best of its class. When, in the course of my second year, I confided to him an ardent wish to visit the "Great Sioux Reservation" in Dakota Territory, from which most of our pupils then came, he arranged for me a six-weeks' tour under distinguished guidance and showed me how to finance it by means of travel letters to the New York "Tribune," "Evening Post," Boston "Transcript" and other newspapers of standing, promising to take care of any deficit from a special fund at his disposal. (In those days, salaries at Hampton were nominal.) Upon my return from the west, well-armed with facts and theories, he bespoke for me an invitation to the famous Indian Conferences at Mohonk Lake instituted by the Quaker philanthropist, Mr. Smiley, and even put me in the way of addressing friendly audiences in various places. I would stand up in my plain little travelling dress, without notes and almost without preparation, but too full of my subject to be frightened or self-conscious, and pour out my

experiences with a rush, ending with what I fondly hoped was a well-reasoned plea for justice to the first American.

I sometimes wonder that no effort was made to launch me upon the journalistic or purely literary career for which I had shown most fitness and which would seem to offer so much more of congenial association and tangible reward than the obscure and ill-paid pioneer work which I, in fact, undertook at this point. Mother failed, indeed, to sympathize with my plans or my enthusiasm, but neither she nor any one else proposed a satisfying alternative. A wealthy Quaker couple took a fancy to me and offered me a beautiful home as their adopted "daughter." Two or three men offered marriage. But I was not yet ready to consider marriage. In General Armstrong the missionary spirit was dominant and I a willing neophyte. At my earnest request, he presently secured for me an interview with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and, a little later, the coveted opening as the first Government day-school teacher at Medicine Bull's camp,² on the west bank of the muddy Missouri—a disorderly collection of log huts and cotton tepees occupied by about two hundred blanket Sioux. Here I was joined by an accomplished friend,³ also Hampton-trained, and we two young women took eager joint possession, upon the threshold of the savage Dakota winter, of a three-room mission shack and bare, forbidding-looking government school-house some eight or ten rough miles from the nearest white neighbor.

Owing to the primitive and unsupervised state of the Indian school service at that period, we were at least given a free hand—if little more! We introduced sewing, cooking, gardening, music, calisthenics and "modern methods!" When the needed supplies failed, as they often did, we turned to Eastern friends for contributions of goods and money. Although we were not encouraged to acquire the Dakota tongue, I determined to do so, and became rather proud of speaking it correctly enough to be occasionally mistaken for a native when travelling with Indians in the

²This was near the mouth of White River in the Oacoma region.
³Miss Laura Tileston.

long summer vacation. At such times I lived on horseback and in tents, meeting with invariable consideration from the people among whom I went, constantly enlarging my understanding of human nature in the raw, and developing a point of view that has been of value to me all my days in a variety of situations. My songs of Indian life exhibit a pardonable coloring of romance. However, I continued to write mainly in prose and with serious educational purpose—in other words, to turn out propaganda rather than literature.

We had the full moral support of the missionary Bishop and of our local minister, himself a Sioux, and there were a few returned students from Hampton to hold up our hands. Thus fortified, we were able to show such good results in the course of two or three years that, (my friend being called home by her family), I decided to seek a wider field. I had faith in the day-school, the true community center, and aspired to create little Hamptons, each a focus or rallying-point of all good influences throughout the wild Indian country.

By a fortunate coincidence, a new administration had come into office at Washington about the time I returned to the east with that bee in my bonnet. General Thomas J. Morgan, an experienced educator, who had just been made Commissioner of Indian Affairs, took his responsibilities very seriously, with discernment regarding the educational program as a key to the situation. I had a number of engagements to address schools, clubs and churches, and soon met with the new Commissioner upon a similar errand. Indeed, we twice spoke from the same platform. My ideas and plans so far fitted into his scheme that we had only talked for an hour or two when General Morgan made up his mind to create a new office—that of supervisor of education—naming me as the first incumbent. Ignoring the protest of such as objected to the appointment of a young unmarried woman (I was then twenty-seven) to a post requiring a good deal of initiative as well as much hard and unconventional travel, he even gave me exactly the equipment I asked for. There was no precedent for the use of a wagon

and team of horses with full camp outfit, and an Indian couple of my own choice for service and protection, but I argued strongly for the independence thus gained in a region devoid of hotels or means of public transportation, and where it was customary for inspectors to rely upon the courtesy and hospitality of the very individuals whom they were required to investigate.

My work for the next year, exclusively among the Sioux, covered a round of several hundred miles and included some fifty schools of widely varying types. It was, at least, sufficiently fruitful to suggest the early appointment of several additional officers who divided among them the entire Indian field, introducing standards and methods before unknown. During that first summer, in spite of some opposition and more inertia, I made shift to organize the first series of teachers' institutes ever held in the Indian Service. My official reports were full and absolutely candid, and were often illustrated by my own camera. Moreover, at the Commissioner's special request, I continued writing for the newspapers, with a view to building up public support for his educational program.

In the mean time, however, that curious and pathetic delusion known as the "Messiah craze" of 1890-91 had taken hold of many tribes and wrought great mischief among the Dakotas, where terror of a possible "Indian uprising," demoralizing certain of the agency people and near-by settlers, led to policing with troops, and in the end to an episode by no means creditable to our government—the slaughter of unarmed men, women and children at Wounded Knee.

The Indian bureau, I think, inclined to blame the army for that sad affair. The war department, in turn, held the bureau guilty of earlier mismanagement, and both charge the Congress with failure to appropriate sufficient funds to ward off hunger, sickness and dangerous discontent. There was doubtless some truth in each of these allegations.

My personal fortunes, strangely enough, reached a turning-point coincidently with this dramatic crisis in the history of the Sioux, which found me in winter headquarters at Pine Ridge, furthest west of the agencies and destined to

become the center of the disturbance. I had just visited Sitting Bull at his home on Grand River, and passed several nights alone in my tent within sight and sound of the "ghost dancing." It fell to my lot, at that heart-shaking Christmas season, not only to nurse the wounded prisoners in the church turned hospital, but to bear public witness to their tragic and undeserved plight.

A young Sioux physician, newly graduated from Dartmouth College and Boston University, came that fall to minister to the health needs of more than five thousand primitive folk, superstitious, extremely poor and scattered over a radius of a hundred miles or so. He entered upon the task with enthusiasm. When, only a few weeks after our first meeting, I promised to marry Doctor Eastman, it was with a thrilling sense of two-fold consecration. I gave myself wholly in that hour to the traditional duties of wife and mother, abruptly relinquishing all thought of an independent career for the making of a home. At the same time, I embraced with a new and deeper zeal the conception of life-long service to my husband's people. How simple it all seemed to me then—how far from simple has been the event!

From blazing a new path I returned to the old and well-worn road, trodden by women's feet throughout the ages. That first little home built for us, the center of so many loving hopes, was sorrowfully abandoned within two years for what proved to be a series of dubious experiments. Unforeseen complications led to repeated changes of occupation and of scene, trying to the spirit no less than to the pocket-book. Of my six children, two were born in the Indian country, nine years apart, two in St. Paul, Minnesota, two in New England.

The doctor practiced medicine in a city as well as among his own people—but not for long. Three years he travelled in the United States and Canada for the International Y. M. C. A. For two winters we lived in Washington, where he lobbied for Indian claims. After several other abortive efforts, we finally made a home in Massachusetts where we could educate our family. In an hour of comparative

leisure I had urged him to write down his recollections of the wild life, which I carefully edited and placed with "St. Nicholas." From this small beginning grew "Indian Boyhood" and eight other books of Indian lore, upon all of which I collaborated more or less. Their wide acceptance led to a demand for lectures by the author, and for fifteen years I handled nearly all the correspondence and publicity incident to twenty-five or more annual appearances.

No, I won't say that the adjustment was easy or that I was never lonely, restless and haunted by a secret sense of frustration. Every woman who has surrendered a congenial task and financial independence will understand. Saving the joys of motherhood, my pleasures must be vicarious ones. He travelled widely, even to London, and met hosts of interesting people. I was inevitably house-bound. But I had always something of a one-track mind, and for many a year every early dream and ambition was wholly subordinated to the business of helping my talented husband express himself and interpret his people. Whether or not this was wise, is perhaps an open question. Obviously, it was far from modern. Moreover, it had never been my mother's attitude, but was doubtless in my blood, as a leading tenet of both grandmothers. I was conscious, half proudly, half with regret, of deserting literature for life. Yet my own son calls that "impossible!"

"You've always been a poet," he writes, "whether you put the words on paper or not." (A charming bit of flattery, which I should much like to deserve!)

I did, in fact, produce a few "pot-boilers," for our income was never at all adequate to the family needs, in spite of my husband's varied activities and growing reputation. In odd hours I wrote several fanciful plays and pageants, and published four books for young folks: "Little Brother o' Dreams," (1910), "Yellow Star," (1911), "Indian Legends Retold," (1919), and "The Luck of Oldacres," (1928), embodying some of the lighter and more joyous phases of a strenuous experience.⁴

⁴"Hundred Maples" and "Pratt the Red Man's Moses" were published in 1935.

There were, of course, my exacting duties as nurse and housekeeper to a family of eight. In addition, I prepared four of my children to enter school at varying points between the second and fifth grades—this at periods when no suitable school was available. As they grew up, the financial strain grew more severe with the need of carrying forward their education beyond the high school. For ten years I carried the more burdensome responsibilities of a summer camp for girls in New Hampshire—a job undertaken when past fifty with the help of my older girls and for their benefit, but which also proved of value to me in many ways, bringing new contacts and developing unsuspected capacities.

^Social service and civic undertakings have always been most congenial, but only “by fits and starts” has it been possible for me to co-operate locally. Of pure recreation there has been so little in my life that I have never really learned to play. I count myself fortunate in my children—doubly blessed in my grandchildren—and not least in the memory of a gifted daughter whose golden voice and personality had already won marked recognition at twenty-four, when she fell a victim to the pandemic of influenza following the war.

As a romantic child of fifteen, I promised myself to “sing along the way.” And I have kept my word after a fashion, for the scattered verses now at last bound between covers have appeared in the magazines over a stretch of more than half a century. How broken-winged they flutter and fall, beside the soaring dreams of youth!

Yet I hold that a poem is no trifle of ornament, but a structural reality. It is a drop of the concentrated essence of living. A conception that is held with a certain degree and quality of emotional intensity takes form, as it were, spontaneously—crystallizes in verse as naturally as a snowflake explodes in a miniature marvel of stars within stars. Symmetry it must have—yes, and clearness—even as those ethereal frost-flowers miraculously a-bloom in wintry skies. Ideally, it should leap to the eye with the crispness of an etching—ravish the ear with a chime of invisible bells.

However imperfect, it can not fail to reveal in a measure those deep inner compulsions which transcend all outward happenings whatsoever.

For the ideal is and has always been to me the supreme reality. It is the symbolic truth which sums up all fact and overtops it. Nor am I ready to admit, with certain of my thoroughly disillusioned contemporaries, that God has left his heaven and all's wrong with the world. No—the voice heard at eve is still the same voice that spoke upon the mountaintop, out of the rainbow mists of morning, all of sixty crowded years ago!

MRS. EASTMAN'S REPORTS FROM DAKOTA**Report of White River School for the Year Ending July 1, 1887**

The industrial day school at the mouth of White river opened January 11, 1887, and has therefore been in session during less than two-thirds of the school year. The progress made by the children in English studies and their general improvement has been all that could be asked. It is the opinion of the teacher and resident lady missionary, both of whom have had an experience of some years in an eastern training school, that these children compare favorably in scholarship with those who have been for the same length of time in a boarding-school at the East. That the average attendance has not been larger is chiefly owing to severe weather during the winter months and to a protracted visit of one-third of the whole school to a neighboring agency in the spring. It is strongly recommended that children belonging to the day schools should not be allowed to leave the agency without very good reason.

The feature of this school is its industrial training—its pressing needs and those of other day schools are in this direction. Mission and private aid and the voluntary assistance of the lady missionary have made it possible to teach various industries not provided for by Government. The sewing school, which has held an hour's session daily, has been wholly supported by these means. Each girl has made for herself in the school or been given two dresses and two suits of underclothing, besides hats, stockings, and other articles. Each boy has received a shirt, hat, and stockings, and each of the smaller boys a suit of clothes. It is recommended that every day school should be provided by Government with materials to conduct a sewing class and to provide the children with some portion of their clothing. It has been clearly shown that habits of neatness and industry can be as well learned in a day school as in a boarding-school.

The cooking classes have been very successful, and should be everywhere introduced, in connection with a midday lunch for the scholars wherever their homes are so widely scattered as to warrant it. Our children do not need a school lunch, except occasionally as an object lesson.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

History of the United States from 1776 to 1876

The history of the United States from 1776 to 1876 is a story of growth and development. It begins with the Declaration of Independence in 1776, which marked the birth of a new nation. The early years were marked by struggle and conflict, as the young republic fought to establish its identity and secure its borders. The American Revolution, which lasted from 1775 to 1783, was a pivotal moment in the nation's history, leading to the adoption of the Constitution in 1787. The early 19th century was a period of rapid expansion and growth, as the United States moved westward and developed its economy. The War of 1812, which lasted from 1812 to 1815, was another important event in the nation's history, leading to the adoption of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823. The mid-19th century was a period of great change and conflict, as the nation grappled with the issue of slavery. The Civil War, which lasted from 1861 to 1865, was a defining moment in the nation's history, leading to the adoption of the Reconstruction Amendments in 1865. The late 19th century was a period of rapid industrialization and growth, as the United States emerged as a major world power.

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The boys have worked well in the garden, where they cultivate twelve or fourteen different vegetables. Most of these have not yet been gathered. An assistant competent to teach carpentering has been appointed, and it is requested that a log house, costing some \$20 be put up at once for a shop in which the boys can learn the elements of the trade, and be furnished with the necessary tools.

It is hoped that the success at White River may serve to demonstrate the importance of greatly increasing the number of day schools, and the industrial facilities of those already in operation.

ELAINE GOODALE,
Teacher.

—Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1887, page 26.

Report of Day School at Mouth of White River

Crow Creek and Lower Brulé Agency, Dakota,
August 7, 1888.

To United States Indian Agent:

The feature of this school during the past year has been, as was at first intended, a variety of industrial training not hitherto attempted in day schools. I believe that in this respect the White River school compares with most agency boarding-schools. The girls have added to their sewing and cooking classes, laundry and general housework. The boys, under the industrial teacher, who is a full-blood Indian man educated for five years at Hampton Institute, have improved upon their garden, done a little elementary carpenter work, and assisted in cutting wood and drawing water. The boys and girls together have this year done all the janitor work at the school, keeping both rooms in excellent order, and scrubbing floors and washing windows at short intervals. Every girl over eight years old has made during the school year, in the sewing class taught by Miss Tileston, the lady missionary, a dress, three articles of under-clothing, and a patchwork quilt. The older girls have taken lessons in mending and in cutting out. I may mention, in order to show that these girls know how to utilize what they

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and expansion. The second is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these immigrants. The third is the fact that the United States is a nation of free men, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these free men.

The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of law, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these laws. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of progress, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these progress.

The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these peace. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of justice, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these justice.

The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of liberty, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these liberty. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of equality, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these equality.

The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of unity, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these unity. The eleventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of strength, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these strength.

The twelfth is the fact that the United States is a nation of wisdom, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these wisdom. The thirteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of courage, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these courage.

The fourteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of faith, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these faith. The fifteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of hope, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these hope.

The sixteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of love, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these love. The seventeenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of compassion, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these compassion.

The eighteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of kindness, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these kindness. The nineteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of gentleness, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these gentleness.

The twentieth is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these peace. The twenty-first is the fact that the United States is a nation of justice, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these justice.

have learned, that they sold over \$14 worth of bread and cake, made by themselves, and dressed twelve dolls, neatly and completely, for their Easter offering to the church. The boys' garden has fourteen different sorts of vegetables, and in fine condition and in quantity sufficient to supply constantly two or three families. At the present writing we have lettuce, radishes, green peas, string beans, beets, and onions on the table. What has been done here can readily be done with two teachers at every day school, and would greatly add to their efficiency.

The attendance has been fuller this year than the last. The average for the whole year is 20, and would be considerably larger but for the fact that about a third of the children went out with their parents upon distant "claims" at planting time, and greatly reduced the average for the spring term. Every child over six years old in the neighborhood has attended the school, and the children have sent written excuses for absence. Their neat appearance has been kept up by regular daily inspection. Their conduct, especially that of the boys, has not always been exemplary. The severest punishment ever inflicted was suspension from school for four weeks.

The children have made good progress in their studies. The A class have finished the first reader and understand addition and subtraction, with the elements of geography and a good knowledge of the English language for children who have been but fifteen months in any school. (Several of the highest scholars were promoted to the agency boarding-school at the beginning of the year). They can all write well, sing a little, draw a little, talk a little, and understand a good deal. The smallest children have used some of the kindergarten occupations for busy work, with much interest and success. A Christmas tree, a New Year's party, with occasional magic lanterns and other entertainments, have diversified the school year. We should be glad to see every other Indian day school conducted on a similar plan with this, and, as might easily be, with even greater success.

ELAINE GOODALE,
Teacher.

Report of Supervisor of Education Among the Sioux

Standing Rock Agency, N. Dak.,

September 27, 1890.

SIR: I have the honor to submit, at your request, the following report of my work from the date of my appointment as supervisor of education among the Sioux, March 5, 1890, to October 1, 1890. The time has been so short as to enable me to make but a partial survey of the field, and my account of the schools will, therefore, be necessarily incomplete.

The position of supervisor of education having been created at the time that I was appointed to fill it, my duties and powers are not defined by any precedent, and may be modified or enlarged to suit the exigencies of the work and the development of events. In a letter of instruction, under date of March 5, I am directed to "systematically visit all the schools among the Sioux, ascertain what they need, report the deficiencies, advise inexperienced teachers, devise ways of reaching the children, introduce industrial training into the day schools, and, in general, systematize, extend, and improve the schools as far as possible."

Acting upon these instructions and guided by previous experience and knowledge of the situation, my aim is to leave nothing undone which I can by any means do to encourage and rouse the teachers, to interest and stimulate the children, to satisfy and inform the parents, and to lay before the Indian Department such detailed, exact, and reliable statements as will enable you to improve the teaching force, place new schools to the best advantage, and properly equip with necessary buildings, furniture, and supplies the schools already established.

To begin with the most important factor in any school, the teacher, * * * I understand it to be the present policy of the Department to man the Indian schools with trained, experienced, successful teachers, and if the work is to be judged by its results it would be true economy to engage such at double the salary paid to the incompetents. The difference in the advance made by two neighboring schools

in the same number of years is often startling. It is no exaggeration to say that one teacher will accomplish treble or quadruple the work of another in a given length of time. I consider the greatest lack of the Sioux schools at this moment to be a lack of skilled teachers, and that no pains should be spared to secure for every vacancy a live member of the profession with a reputation to sustain.

I beg to remind you, in this connection, that women are generally more successful than men in the primary school-room, and notably so, in my opinion, in this Indian school work, as they are also far more likely to win the affection and call forth all the higher qualities of the primitive people by whom they are surrounded.

Knowing, however, that no sweeping change is likely to be effected, it has been my policy to endeavor to make the most of the material at hand, and to do better things with the present corps of teachers than have been done before. I have recommended the removal of school employes only in a very few cases which I was forced to regard as hopeless. After I have listened to the usual recitations and observed the method, or want of method, of each teacher for two or three hours, I usually question the children somewhat, and if I am dissatisfied, illustrate what I regard as better ways of teaching by giving several lessons myself. Sometimes I take the whole school for an afternoon and teach for the benefit of the teacher. The commonest defect in these schools is in the language work; the reading is apt to be mechanical and parrot-like, with no attempt to make the children understand and use the words which they merely learn to recognize at sight. After I have thus indicated to the teacher the general scope of my ideas of school work I talk with him after school as long and as freely as possible, pointing out what I regard as the special defects of his work in such a way as to stimulate and help, if I can, without awakening resentment or wounding his self respect—a delicate task.

After leaving the school, I write to each teacher a letter of criticism and suggestion, repeating and dwelling upon the points made in conversation with a view to impressing

them upon the memory. If I consider his work good and satisfactory, I commend it warmly, and if I regard him as hopelessly unfit for his position, I tell him so.

My next step for the improvement of the teachers was the holding of teachers' institutes and the organization of teachers' reading circles. Until the summer of 1890, there had been no general teachers' meetings in any of the agencies. I have now held three for teachers of the Pine Ridge, Crow Creek and Lower Brulé and Cheyenne River Agencies, and propose to hold one or two more during the present autumn. Nearly every teacher in the three agencies at the time attended these meetings, which were in each case of three days' duration. All agency employes, missionaries, and visitors are cordially invited to attend the meetings, and those who are able to do so are requested to address them and take part in discussions. Complimentary invitations are extended to all teachers of contract or mission schools in or near the agency at which the institute is held.

The superintendents of the boarding-schools and others have aided me in giving talks on methods in reading, language, arithmetic, geography, etc., illustrated by black-board outlines and model lessons. The afternoon lessons are usually devoted to the more general aspects of the work—school government, sanitary conditions (upon which the agency physician is asked to speak), training for citizenship, the preparation of the teacher, eastern schools and Indian associations, being among the many subjects discussed. Questions are freely asked and all are expected to take part informally in the discussions. The institute at Cheyenne River Agency being held while the schools were in session, two mornings were given up to a careful study of the actual work in the school-room, at the two excellent boarding-schools. The social features of these reunions have not been forgotten, and picnics, drives, dinners, and afternoon teas have brought the teachers together in pleasant ways, the more keenly enjoyed by those whose lives, at their remote posts, are lives of extreme isolation.

I think there can be no question that this experiment has proved a success, as is indicated by the growing interest

and animation of the teachers; their voluntary requests for a continuance of the institutes, and, not least, their willingness to spend time and money in acquiring a better mastery of their profession. Branches of the Chautauqua Teachers' Reading Union, organized at each institute, number now eighteen members in all at the three agencies, pledged to a three years' course of professional study. Other books have been sent for and subscriptions to educational journals taken. These evidences of growing interest and ambition are encouraging, and I regard it as important to develop this line of work, and hope to hold institutes or summer schools of much longer duration where primary methods, kindergarten, physical culture, manual training, etc., may be systematically presented by competent instructors.

I will next consider briefly the present condition of the school buildings among the Sioux, with the amount of stock, school furniture and supplies. These are all, in my opinion, sadly limited in quantity, and usually deficient in quality.

There is not one Government boarding school, that I have visited, with room and conveniences for the work. They are, as a rule, overcrowded, badly arranged, more or less out of repair, and generally unsatisfactory. The dormitories are in every instance too crowded and insufficiently ventilated. A bath-room or a hospital-room is seldom to be found. The want of suitable sitting-rooms or play-rooms for the children is a serious one. The school-room furniture is usually scanty, and the modern helps, such as number tables, molding-boards, kindergarten tables and material, etc., entirely lacking. The text-books are of so many different series—good, bad and indifferent. The clothing furnished the children in the boarding schools is fairly good and their appearance usually neat, but there is a deficiency in the matter of woolen underwear and other things which do not appear. The food I regard as of insufficient variety, and would state that more vegetable and farinaceous foods, dried or preserved fruit, milk and eggs are needed, and that more skill and care in the cooking should be insisted upon. There are no training shops in connection with any of the Govern-

ment schools which I have visited, and the barns are ordinarily few and poor, while the amount of stock kept is altogether insufficient, and the garden or farm usually too small to fully supply the school.

In the day schools the accommodations are equally limited. A day school building usually consists of one classroom and two or three small rooms for the teacher or teachers, sometimes a family of several persons. These schools vary in size from ten to seventy or more pupils. In many cases the school-room is too small, or another recitation room may be needed; and a large room for school kitchen, dining, and sewing rooms is wanted at all. The teachers' quarters, too, are contracted and sometimes very uncomfortable, owing to the open construction of the building. The new day school buildings should be much more commodious, or, better still, consist of a separate school-house and teachers' cottage; and additions are wanted at nearly all the present schools.

It is my opinion, based upon an experience of three years as teacher of an industrial day school, together with my observation of other day schools, especially some of those at Rosebud agency, that, given a suitable building, furniture and utensils, a supply of clothing and sewing materials, and rations for a substantial midday meal, with two capable persons in each school, nearly as thorough and practical work may be done in a day as in a boarding school, at far less expense. I regard it as only reasonable and humane to allow the Indians an opportunity of educating their children without forcing them to a complete separation, and I have seen remarkable instances of the good influence of such a school in an Indian community. Therefore I continue to urge this extension and improvement of the day school system, while admitting that, as matters now stand, the boarding schools can usually show the better results.

In my talks with the day school children I usually direct their thought to the idea of a possible promotion to the boarding school as a special privilege and stimulus to exertion, and often suggest the transfer more particularly to a few of the oldest and best scholars, cautioning the teachers

as well not to threaten their pupils with the boarding school as a punishment for bad behavior, as some have been in the habit of doing, but to offer it rather as a reward.

No feature of the work, as I see it, is more striking, or, properly viewed, more encouraging, than the intelligent interest in their schools which is now so general among the Sioux. I suppose I am safe in asserting that my familiar knowledge of their language and habits of thought not acquired without study and pains, together with the fact that I had already traveled much and was quite generally known among them before I took up my present work, give me unusual advantages for ascertaining facts known to the Indians and getting to the bottom of their opinions. Well as I thought that I knew them, I have been surprised again and again by the shrewdness and soundness of their judgments upon particular schools and teachers. They are, like other people, occasionally untruthful, but they are keen students of character and do not often make a mistake. The suggestions for the general improvement of the schools, volunteered by thoughtful Indian parents, returned Carlisle and Hampton students and others, at different times and in different places, have included nearly all the important recommendations which, independent of these suggestions, I have thought it right to make. Only in one or two instances have I found it necessary to urge the parents to send their children to school, while in a great number of cases the Indians have sent for me and urged the establishment of more schools or the enlargement of those which they already had. They have written long lists of names of children who were ready to attend a day school if one could be built, and have begged me to go with them behind their own teams to verify the location.

I have observed a strong and very generally expressed preference for schools at home to those away from the reservations, and while I myself favor home schools for the majority, I take care to point out to the Indian parents and the teachers of reservation schools (who are usually of the same opinion) the popular enthusiasm which has been aroused by Carlisle, Hampton, and other eastern schools, and

their advantages in point of breadth and thoroughness of training. I have been in the habit of showing everywhere my Carlisle and Hampton photographs, and take care to ask for, and see, if possible, the graduates of those schools wherever I go.

I believe that the Sioux as a people are now so thoroughly persuaded of the necessity of an education for their children, and so far on the way to an intelligent grasp of the whole subject that if they can be gradually thrown more upon their own responsibilities and resources, they will soon be in a position to take care of their own schools. In the mean time, I remember that these schools are built and conducted with Indian funds, and endeavor to recognize fully their claim to pronounce upon them and to have a voice in their management, believing that in this way we are developing self respect and independence.

I have inspected three contract schools, all Roman Catholic, and two Protestant-Episcopal mission schools. The three Catholic schools vary greatly from each other in building and sanitary arrangements, the one at Pine Ridge being the best, and that at Crow Creek the poorest in these respects. All have good farms, and two have small shops. Neatness and industry are features of these schools. I regard the class-room work as open to criticism on the ground of being mechanical and lifeless. Words and rules are committed to memory and the reasoning powers but little developed. I should say, also, that the atmosphere is unhome-like, and no social intercourse whatever is permitted between the boys and girls. I think that all contract schools should be required to pursue the official course of study, and in every way come up to the standard of the Indian Office. Bishop Hare's two mission schools at Rosebud and Cheyenne River Agency are models of their kind, and in the arrangement of the house and grounds, industrial training and class-room work are among the very best Indian schools.

I have referred to the course of study. I keep a permanent record of the name, age, number of years in school, grade, general health, and such important facts as I can gather in regard to each individual pupil in the schools. I

graded them at first in the only way possible, by the reader, meanwhile advising the teachers of neglected points, and looking forward to the establishment of recognized grades, each corresponding to a year's work. So soon as I had received a copy of the new rules for Indian schools, with a course of study, I began to aid the teachers in each school to classify the pupils by it, and taking them up individually, by name, recorded the grade to which each should work during the present school year. The classification must necessarily be at first imperfect, owing to the lack of system which has formerly prevailed, and the one-sided teaching hitherto done in many of the schools, but by patient and well-directed efforts these irregularities can be smoothed away, and it would be hard to overestimate the benefit to teachers and pupils of knowing what is expected of them and working toward a definite plan. My criticisms are also rendered less arbitrary, for now each teacher can compare his work with the standard and see for himself wherein he has failed and in what he has succeeded.

I have attempted to supply a want by arranging a daily programme for day schools based upon the course of study which is now approved and in practice.

During the last six months I have traveled in wagon and on horseback some 1,500 miles, and have passed fifty-five nights in my tent. Most of my meals during that time have been prepared and eaten in the open air. My outfit, at my own request, consists of a roomy mountain wagon and two good horses, with complete camp equipage, and an Indian man and his wife to accompany me, and I am thus entirely independent and reasonably comfortable. The great distances to be traversed and the total absence of railways and hotels renders this the only practicable method of reaching all these schools, and much time must of necessity be consumed on the road. I have visited thus far thirty-seven schools, on the Crow Creek, Lower Brulé, Rosebud, Pine Ridge, and Cheyenne River Agencies, taking them in the order named, and I hope by being constantly in the field during the months when such travel is possible, to visit every school under my supervision twice in a year. I fix no dates beforehand, and my coming is

always unannounced. I am in constant correspondence with many of the teachers, and hope to render them some assistance in that way during the winter months, when but little traveling can be done on the prairies.

ELAINE GOODALE,

Supervisor of Education among the Sioux.

—Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, pages 276-279.

* * * *

"The day schools at Mouth of White River, about 6 miles south of agency, and at Driving Hawk's camp, about 40-miles west, have both done well; and owing, I believe, to the aptness and enthusiasm of their respective teachers, the children have advanced more rapidly than is usual with Indian children at day schools. An industrial department has been kept up at these schools by the aid of Indian assistants, which has proved very helpful. The names and salaries of teachers at these respective schools are as follows:

At Mouth of White River:

	Salary
Elaine Goodale, teacher	\$581.82
Leon Desheuquette, assistant teacher	281.15

At Driving Hawk's camp:

	Salary
Jennie M. Billopp, teacher	\$581.82
Ben Brave, assistant teacher	290.96

W. W. ANDERSON,

United States Indian Agent."

—Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1889, pages 139-140.

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John D. Unruh is president of Freeman Junior College, Freeman, S. Dak. The material printed herein is taken from his doctor's thesis, University of Texas.

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